And Who Is My Neighbor?

THIS volume is one of a series by which the National Conference on the Christian Way of Life (briefly known as "The Inquiry") aims to serve a widespread inquiry into the meaning of Christianity for human relationships in the world order of today.

Many, both within and without the Church, believe that the spiritual forces which have taken form in the Christian experience of the past must find new ways to embody themselves in the experience of the future. To this end, the crucial problems of the present ought everywhere to be opened for study and discussion by people who, while sharing the Christian heritage, yet bring all diversities of interest and faith to bear upon right relationships among men. The Inquiry recognizes that in the complex situations of today such problems involve matters that are scientific and technical, and require the authority of experts as well as the testimony of every-day experience.

The Inquiry does not aim to make itself a new agency either for fact-finding or for promoting religion. Rather, it aims to bring into more fertile contact existing agencies of research and religious agencies. In issuing pamphlets on distinctive modern problems, it hopes to stimulate and assist group-inquiry by making facts accessible and by presenting these and questions for conduct arising from them in a form likely to stimulate orderly discussion. After a period of such nation-wide conferring, the whole venture will be summarized by a national assembly which will gather up the commitments so far attained and share with a wider public such guidance as the sectional studies may have provided for a practical application of the findings.

In order to deal effectively with specialized interests the Inquiry has thus far divided its work among four commissions, namely on

International Relations,
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Race Relations,
The Church and the Christian Way of Life.

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And Who Is My Neighbor?

An Outline for the Study of Race Relations in America

PART I

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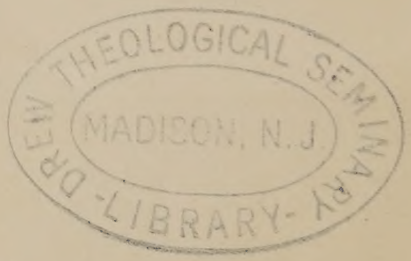

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Introduction

Old Mrs. Garfinckle complains that the foreign servants one gets nowadays don't know how to keep their place. "Why," says Mrs. Jones, the druggist's wife, "that new colored man who comes round to help in the garden actually answered me back this morning when I showed him where the hedge wasn't properly cut."

On another porch, Mrs. Moller and Mrs. Sullivan exchange confidences about their children. "I don't know what I am going to do about George," says Mrs. Moller. "I had no idea we had so many niggers in this part of town until the other day I saw them all trooping out of the high school. And as for Mr. Hall's Academy, they say he has more Jews than Christians!" Mrs. Sullivan's problem is even more acute; here she has got herself a nice home in one of the best streets, and her boys run down to the Old Town playground almost every afternoon to play with their "hunky" and "dago" schoolmates. "You should hear the language they bring home!"

A regular family council takes place on the Carsons' terrace: it appears that Mary Louise, the second eldest, has gone to a church party and danced with a "Chinaman"—introduced to her by Mr. Cosgrove, the minister, himself. "What is the world coming to?"

That question is being asked many times these days. It is discussed also in parliaments and chancelleries; but it is on the porches of Elm Avenue and wherever neighbors meet that it gains its fullest social and political significance. Others may talk in big, abstract terms and get a following for this or that theory; but in the long run the Mrs. Garfinckle, Mrs.

Jones, Mrs. Moller, Mrs. Sullivan and their husbands, children, maiden aunts and other retainers make the history of civilization.

And everywhere they ask, "what is the world coming to?" Some are worried, some don't care, some have a patent remedy for every ill, and some take a sort of secret pleasure in seeing their worst predictions come true. But there are also many who would like to understand exactly how and why our poor old world has left its ruts, why, more especially, social relationships don't stay put but continually break open into all sorts of disturbing innovations. One asks Mrs. Garfinckle exactly what she thinks the place is which the Swedish servant girls should keep—she ought to know, she has had so many—and then wonders how she would like to keep that sort of place herself. One talks with Jeff, the colored boy who does odd jobs, and finds that he has been through the first two years of high school and has notions of his own as to work and wages and the black man's burden. Others have it out with the pastor who invites Oriental students to his church parties and argue with him for and against such a thing. Or they go to a parents' evening at the high school and talk with some of the foreign mothers who sacrifice every comfort to give their children an education.

Out of such neighborly discussions, of arguments in defense and in defiance of traditions, of new ambitions, demands, refusals, hopes, worries, agreements and disagreements there emerges for the community a new picture of mutual relations and responsibilities. The old concepts of social duty are not as plain as they were; once more the question is raised by a thousand inquiring minds: "You say, I shall love my neighbor. But who is my neighbor?"

Is that Chinese laundryman in the cellar across the way as much to me as John Tout, the groceryman, whose grandfather came to this town about the same time as mine and who has

served on the vestry with my father? "Shall I love old Miss Purdy," asks Jeff, the colored boy, "who treats me worse than her cats and dogs? Shall I love all these people who try to kick me back into the mud?" Is that Chinese student my neighbor, wonders Mary Louise after the aunts have finished impressing upon her the magnitude of her guilt in dancing with him. Why is that polite young man a worse person to dance with than Alf of next door who carries a flask in his hip-pocket and swears!

Not only the young folks but many of the older people also are perplexed about their duty in matters such as these. If all these different people who have come into the town—Jews and Negroes and Orientals and Russians and what not—are to be treated according to their individual worth, how can they be prevented from invading the best streets, perhaps marrying into the best families, from getting hold of the best businesses, perhaps even running the elections? Is it a religious duty on occasion to sit down at table with people of dark skin? Should Jeff be helped to finish his high school course and perhaps get stuck up and spoiled for work fit for a "nigger"? Is there nothing in good breeding? Is there nothing of permanent value in the white civilization our fathers have built up with so much sacrifice? Must we not preserve it at all hazards, teach hatred for those races that threaten it?

Some look to the church for answers to such questions as these. The church itself is in a dilemma. There is no doubt about the directness and completeness of the teaching, thou shalt love thy neighbor. But social life has become pretty complicated since that command was given; and its application is by no means clear. Courses of action that perhaps were simple enough in Biblical times would carry with them quite different consequences today. The good Samaritan, for example, would he not be ostracized today by his own people if he acted as told in the parable, and lose all his influence

for good? Would the innkeeper permit him to put up his injured friend? Would not the more radical of his friends berate the Samaritan for dealing superficially with an individual case instead of tackling a big situation—would they not say that he had done nothing to make the Jericho road safe?

What is this neighbor problem, more particularly in America where so many races and peoples rub elbows, exercise the franchise, build up great industries and a new type of civilization? Is it a race problem as distinct from a problem in merging groups of different antecedents in a single community? Is it a single problem that can be defined, analyzed, solved—or a multitude of petty problems for daily conduct, each requiring a separate solution?

The present study outline is the answer to a growing demand for aids to clearer vision; it is *not* an answer to the problem put in the title, not even a formulation of that problem itself. It merely puts together stories of happenings, big and little, as told by observant men and women in different parts of the country (for the most part teachers, ministers, social workers), which to their minds contain problems for moral conduct; and with these stories a few suggestions, largely in the form of questions, of ways to get at the real problems they contain.

These stories do not paint a complete picture; they are little more than casual notes of things observed; and since one is more apt to observe the unusual than the usual, they are probably far from describing normal conditions. But such things happen; they happen every day and in practically every part of our country. What are we going to do about them?

It will be noticed that this study outline is entitled Part I; it is for the purpose of formulating problems for discussion, not of finding their solutions. We are not as yet equipped to

do that; before we are ready with praise and blame, with warning and advice, we must know exactly what we are up against; and that requires not only a careful analysis of each individual problem but also a deeper understanding of the similarities and dissimilarities of situations that contain problems. Science has to tell us something about the consequences of different social arrangements and actions. The Bible and the religious literature of all times have to be studied anew before we can be sure that our attitudes to "neighbors" in the widest sense represent a really consistent moral philosophy and not merely spasmodic and even contradictory sentiments. All that has been reserved for Part II of this inquiry.

For detailed suggestions of ways in which the study and discussion of the present outline may be made most fruitful, see the Appendices.

CHAPTER I

Understandings and Misunderstandings

Note: Before studying this and the following chapters, consult the definitions given in Appendix I and the methods of procedure suggested in Appendices II and III. Do not discuss explanations for the phenomena presented until you are sure that you have an adequate picture of the facts. Consider in detail one of the examples illustrating a particular point (either one of the printed ones or one of personal knowledge); using the others in illustration of similarities and differences. Compare these incidents with the normal situation as you know it in regard to the particular point made or problem brought out, keeping in mind that the stories told do not necessarily present a normal or even typical condition.

The questions following the examples are not intended as exhaustive but merely as samples of the kind of questions which, it is hoped, readers will discover as of particular significance or interest to them. Questions relating to right and wrong in the conduct of individuals or groups figuring in the stories are to be stated but not, at present, finally answered. The purpose of the present part of the study outline is not so much to find solutions for the problems disclosed as to have these correctly formulated.

One of the most common and at the same time most serious sources of friction and maladjustment is ignorance, pure and simple. To what extent ignorance of common, and often easily ascertainable, facts is at the bottom of race antagonism in America it would be difficult to estimate. That it lies at the root of a great part of our troubles, however, cannot be gainsaid. Not only the newspapers but even the proceedings

of Congressional committees are crowded with evidences of misinformation on elementary facts. The mere use of the term "race" has become difficult because of the mass of misunderstanding that has become associated with it. [See p. 209] In a country made up of people of so many origins as ours the mistaken attitudes and actions which arise from popular ignorance, funny as they often are in particular instances, are tragic in their influences upon mutual relations.

Ethnological

We will begin with a few incidents which, though seemingly inconsequential in themselves, illustrate the prevalent confusion as regards simple ethnological facts:

1. We met a man the other day who hailed from an out-of-the-way place and who said that he had never met a Jew. There was no reason to doubt his word. We were introduced to him. He asked with eyes wide open: "Are you a Jew?" "Sure," was our reply. "Well, well!" he mumbled. "What's on your mind?" we asked. Here is his reply: "I thought that a Jew looked like the Jew comedian I saw in the vaudeville show. I must have been wrong."[1]

Are there many people who take their idea of Jews and other peoples from vaudeville representation? What kind of picture of the Mexican people do moving pictures give to Americans in sections where there are no Mexicans? What type of person rises to your mind when the American Indian is mentioned? Has your reading anything to do with that visualization? Does misconception of racial traits arising from such sources do any harm? What happens when the misinformed meet with the reality?

2. Walking across the playground, a settlement worker found a little Italian boy crying bitterly. She asked what was the matter. "Hit by Polish boy," the little man repeated several times. Inquiry among the bystanders revealed that the offender was not Polish at all. Turning again to her lit-

[1] I. L. Bril in the Jewish Daily News, November 1, 1923.

tle friend, she said, "You mean, hit by a big, naughty boy?" But he would not have it thus and went on repeating that he had been hit by a Polish boy.

This struck the worker as so curious that she made inquiries about the little fellow's family. She learned that it lived in the same house with a Polish family, and that the Italian mother, by constantly quarreling with her Polish neighbor, had put into the heads of her children the notion that "Polish" and "bad" were synonymous terms.

3. On board the . . . (an Italian liner), writes an American woman on vacation in Europe, I observed a young woman palpably with colored blood; that is, the physical signs were evident, but she did not talk the least like any type of American colored person; her good English had a very slight Italian accent. She was, in fact, Sicilian, had been in the United States many years and was returning to her home country for a short trip. It was not difficult to recognize her as a southern Italian with an African mixture, whether near or far back.

This woman shared a cabin with two women, one of them of Irish birth, long in the United States and married to an Italian; the other an Italian from Massachusetts, never wholly Americanized. The latter confided to me that they were both exceedingly disturbed when they came on board and found they would have to be with a "negress," and that they were much relieved when they discovered that the woman was Italian.

Both women were kind-hearted and no doubt would have disguised their feelings from their fellow traveller. But since apparently it had never dawned on these two "American" women that a native-born Italian may not always be pure white, they went on enjoying the companionship of their room mate.

Do you know other instances where a fixed idea about the population of another country has made people unperceptive in this way?

4. When I told a group of friends that I was to speak to the Albanians of Jamestown, N. Y., one of them, who knew

her history and her geography uncommonly well, said, questioningly, "Albanians? Are those the people with white hair and pink eyes?" Then, realizing that Albinos and Albanians are not identical, and being genuine enough not to conceal her ignorance, she asked: "Do you mean the people from Albany, N. Y.?"[1]

Is there any particular reason why Americans of average education should know something about the Albanians? Are they likely to meet Albanians? What do you know about the Basques, the Singhalese, the Samoyeds?

Let us see what we know of some of the peoples that will be mentioned in the following pages. Which of the following terms represent races, nationalities, groups with a common language, or groupings from other points of view?

Serb	*Mohammedan*	*Negro*
Jugo-Slav	*Fleming*	*Anglo-Saxon*
Jew	*Belgian*	*Kelt*
African	*Turk*	*French*
Mexican	*Nordic*	*Swiss*
Occidental	*Russian*	*Caucasian*
Hindu	*Mongol*	*Alpine*
Latin	*Chinese*	*Greek*
Scandinavian	*British*	*American Indian*

What physical characteristics come to your mind as each word is mentioned? Note on which associations there is agreement and on which disagreement.

Sociological

Even more varied, perhaps, are the understandings which bear upon the habits and industries of racial and other population groups. An American woman expresses surprise at the large number of well-dressed people she met in Italy; having judged from her knowledge of Italians in America, she had thought the Italians were almost entirely of the laboring and peasant classes. Here are some other instances:

[1] Edward A. Steiner, The Immigrant Tide. Fleming H. Revell Co., 1909, p. 300.

5. A Negro educator, a man of scholarly appearance, who was to speak at a conference in an Ohio steel town, was introduced to a white person interested in the matter and noticed that, although cordially received, he was evidently looked upon with some surprise. Later the white man confessed to him that, though he had heard of the professor by reputation, he had expected him to be a six-footer weighing some two hundred pounds and not the rather slightly built person he proved to be. The reason for this expectation was that the average Negro seen in the streets of this city, attracted to it by employment at work in the steel mills, was heavy and muscular, and had been looked upon as typical of the race.

6. I knew a Chinese student who was fond of children, writes a man who had made it his business to help the foreign students at a large American university. This Chinese often visited in our home and enjoyed playing games with our children and going for walks with them in the park. He was always generous, thoughtful and kind.

One night, about 11:30, I was called out of bed by the ringing of the telephone. My Oriental friend was on the wire. He said he had been arrested and was to be arraigned immediately in the night court; could I come right down? I hastened into my clothes and went with all possible speed. I could not imagine what had happened. The boy was telling his story to the magistrate as I arrived:

Earlier the same evening he had come out of his apartment house to take a walk. A young American girl, perhaps twelve or fourteen, had come down in the same elevator with him. She was a sweet little girl with two flaxen braids down her back, and with his love for children he had admired her. After leaving the elevator, they walked across the apartment foyer to the front door, and the student naturally opened the door, as he would have for any lady, and said, "Isn't it a pleasant evening," or something like that.

The little girl's father was waiting for her outside, and it came out subsequently in the father's testimony that he had sent the child into the house on an errand. Having seen the Oriental speak to his daughter, he asked her the nature of the remark and went up to the student forthwith and said, "I am going to have you arrested." The student was amazed

and asked, "What for?" And he replied, "For speaking to my daughter." They walked along together, arguing the matter, the student in no way seeking to avoid him or to run away, until they encountered a policeman, whereupon the father charged the student with making an offensive remark to his daughter and requested that he be arrested.

This was all brought out in the testimony, at the conclusion of which the magistrate asked if there was any one present who knew the defendant. The writer came forward, told of his acquaintance with the young man, the many times he had been in his home, and that to the best of his knowledge he was a person of good character. Whereupon the magistrate acquitted the prisoner with this statement to the parent:

"It is apparent to me that the defendant is innocent of the charge which you have made against him. As a father you were right in looking out for the best interests of your daughter; but you must remember that every Oriental in this country is not of the character so often portrayed in the press, but that there are in our American universities scores of these young men, from good families, oftentimes sent to America at government expense. You must not generalize and think that because they may look alike, all Orientals are alike in education and character or as they are portrayed in these prejudiced newspaper accounts."

Then he turned to the student and admonished him to be careful not to repeat his action in the future as he might be misunderstood.

7. An Oriental play was staged, among other entertainments to be given at a fashionable hotel to raise funds for an organization aiding foreign students. The Chinese students chosen to take part in it were speaking among themselves excitedly at the rehearsal; it was obvious, there was something wrong. After a while they went to the stage manager and told him they would not go on in antique mandarin costumes. "We are just as modern in China as you are here; and we will not take part in a play that represents China as though she were steeped in ancient superstitions." The manager explained that this was a historical play; and it could not well be given in modern costumes. Did any one consider the English a back number because "The Merchant

of Venice'' was given in sixteenth century costumes? They told him they were sick of having old China paraded in American plays and moving pictures as though there were no new China. Finally reason prevailed, and for the sake of the good cause the protest was abandoned. But the nervous feeling that their country was being misrepresented remained among the Chinese students.

Do we unconsciously associate a people with the particular types with which we are most familiar—Chinese laundrymen, Negro steel workers?

If people say that Orientals are immoral, Mexicans dishonest, Jews grasping, American Indians lazy, and so on, what is the basis for their judgment? Must there be some truth in opinions so widely held? What was the general American opinion of Germans before, during and since the war?

Note the magistrate's remark to the student at the end of example No. 6. If the student was innocent, why did he warn him not to repeat his action? Do we sometimes help to perpetuate misjudgments even when we do not share them?

8. Some time ago in North Carolina I was called upon to give some educational tests in our County Training School, which represents the best of our rural and small town schools in this state. These were merely to examine the progress which the children in the upper grades were making in silent reading and fundamentals of arithmetic, but they brought sharply to my attention evidence of attitudes of thinking which I claim are prevalent and dangerous.

Monroe's Silent Reading Test has a paragraph worded about as follows: ''Aladdin was the son of a poor tailor. He lived in Pekin, the capital city of China. He was always idle and lazy and liked to play better than to work. What kind of boy do you think he was? Indian—Negro—Chinese—French or Dutch?'' The child was to show how well he had read and retained the meaning of the paragraph by underscoring the proper word.

At the first school tested, many of the children underscored the word ''Negro,'' and in scoring the test such a response would have merely been rejected as wrong and showing that

the child to that extent lacked ability in reading. But! Many of the rest of the responses testing ability to understand even more complex paragraphs were correct!

I was puzzled. At the second school visited I was still more puzzled by a similar reaction on the part of many of the students, some of whom I knew personally to be bright and above the average. At the close of the test I called one fine, bright boy about twelve years old and asked him why he thought Aladdin was a Negro. Without hesitation he looked into my face and frankly said, "Because he was lazy." There you have it!

At all the other schools I gave slips of paper to all the children and asked them to tell me why they answered question Number . . . . as they had. I still have some of those slips of paper that gave me such naive and frank replies discovering to me the existence of a fact that I may have suspected but conclusive evidence of which I never had had before.

The following are typical of the replies which they wrote for me: "Because Negroes like to play better than to work." "Because most Negroes are lazy." "Because Negroes do not like to work." "Because most Negroes are poor," etc.

Here were bright children, many of them, in some of the best schools who so frankly accepted certain popular beliefs unfavorable to the group that they simply could not make the very obviously proper response to a simple paragraph that included the word "Negro." In other words, include the idea "Negro" in a stimulus and very many of us simply cannot make the normal response.[1]

How has the association of the terms "Negro" and "lazy" in the minds of these children come about? From personal observation? From hearsay?

Are Negroes as a group less ambitious and less industrious than whites? Will a man talk in the same way about Negroes just after he has seen the film, "The Birth of a Nation," after he has visited a typical southern plantation, an industrial plant in which Negroes do skilled work, a parade of a colored regiment, a fashion show of colored dressmakers? Can wrong

[1] William Albert Robinson in The Crisis for April, 1924.

notions continue even when they are contrary to personal experience?

9. A number of Jewish papers in 1923 discovered, apparently simultaneously, that the current edition of Funk & Wagnall's Standard Dictionary contained a definition of Jew giving among other things the following: "(Slang) a crafty dealer, or grasping money-lender"; also that of a verb, "jew," with the meaning: "(Slang) to get the advantage of in a bargain; overreach: referring to the proverbial keenness of Jewish traders."

A hot public debate took place in which the firm, the editor of the dictionary and a number of Jewish editors took part. Frank H. Vizetelly, editor of the dictionary, defended the definition on two grounds, among others: that similar definitions were to be found in the Century Dictionary, the New English Dictionary on Historic Principles, Webster's New International Dictionary, Roget's Thesaurus; that the modern lexicographer is a recorder of things as they are, and not as he would like them to be. As regards the latter, he said: "The meaning of the word to which exception has been taken has existed in English literature since 1606 as a name of opprobrium or reprobation applied 'without respect to faith or origin' to any grasping or extortionate money-lender or usurer, or trader who drives hard bargains and deals craftily."

One of the critics replied: "The meanings of words have changed repeatedly. They have been altered as they were invested with new meaning. . . . We are not interested as to when the calumny started. That the slander is three and a quarter centuries old does not make it any more palatable or true. . . . At that time English men of letters did not know much of Jews. Their conception of Jews was the result of prejudices and mischievous information spread with no other design than to injure the Jewish people by inciting the hatred of the masses against them. . . . To perpetuate a wrong though it may have behind it the sanction of history is simply to intensify the wrong."

Evidently this line of argument carried conviction with the publishers, for the most recent editions of the dictionary omit

the "slang" definition. It is interesting to note that another Jewish writer favored the inclusion of the slang definition, so long as it was thus labelled. He wrote: "Why do we buy dictionaries for our children? Is it to show the use of slang, or how to avoid using it? That particular definition of 'Jew' surely does not sanction its use. On the contrary, a child consulting that dictionary would certainly refrain from using the word in that sense, because he knows that by using it he would appear as lacking in refinement."

Who was right? Does language lag behind change of thought and thereby make for misunderstanding? Do people when they speak of having been "jewed down" think of the Jewish people? [*See example No. 168.*] *Does the use of such a word influence their attitude toward Jews? Are Jews as a group actually more grasping than other groups?*

What races or nationalities immediately spring to your mind at the mention of the following words: international crook, desperado, wench, anarchist, haughty, puritan, usurer, chivalrous, phlegmatic? How do you account for these associations?

Make a list of twenty nationalities and racial groups and note, each individually, the mental characteristics, customs or habits associated with them. How do you account for these associations?

Compare lists to see on which associations there is agreement and on which there is disagreement. Select two or three characteristics on which there is agreement. See if the group cannot account for the characteristic being associated with the race involved. Do not be satisfied with any reasons which may first be mentioned, but trace association to such things as physical characteristics noted [*see p. 4*], *climate and nature of territory occupied by the group, personal experiences with members of the group (whether recent or as far back as early childhood), literature (such as treatment of Jews in Shakespeare, of Mexicans in moving pictures, etc.).*

Select now two or three racial or national groups concerning which there is wide dissimilarity in the associated characteristics. How do you account for this dissimilarity? Again, be not satisfied with first explanations but trace back of any

reason that occurs possible causes, whether of facts agreed upon or of the fixation of ideas in regard to the reasons discovered.

Misrepresentation

10. A man who was much opposed to the Japanese gave as his reason for opposition that the Japanese were driving out the Whites by competition, and told a pitiful story of a widow who had bought a house with a few acres of ground on the installment plan, thinking she would pay for it by raising potatoes. She was unsuccessful, according to his account, and had to give up her cherished plan and her home and move away because, when she went to the near-by grocery store to sell her potatoes, the Japanese had undersold her and she could not get rid of her potatoes. Therefore she, a poor widow, was actually driven from her home by the Japanese.

A minister in a near-by city who heard this tale made a personal investigation of it. He went to the district and talked with several of the neighbors, finding that it was true that the widow had planned to pay her installments by growing potatoes, but, being inexperienced in farming, had failed to raise a crop. He did his best to let this truth come out, but in the meantime the original version of the story with its insistence on unfair Japanese competition had been circulated far and wide.

11. The daily paper of a town in Pennsylvania reported that a popular business man had been assaulted and robbed the previous evening, and that the police were looking for the colored man who had committed the crime. Feeling ran high, and for several days it looked as though there might be serious clashes with the colored residents of the town. Then the police announced that they had caught their man. He was a white man, and they had known it all the time, they said; but in order to throw him off his guard till they could find him they had issued the false report that they suspected a colored man.

12. A few years ago, a Negro officer of the Y. M. C. A., stationed in the Panama Canal Zone, complained at a conference of the organization that the film, The Birth of a Nation,

was being shown at certain Y. M. C. A.'s in that region, and that a religious organization, particularly one concerned so much in the uplift of Negroes, ought not to permit such a thing. Several other Negro officers supported the appeal, and after some discussion it was decided not only that the showing of this particular moving picture should be stopped, but that more care should be given to prevent the distribution of films that might be offensive to the dignity of any race or nationality. What was the remorse of the colored secretaries when, pleased with this action, they walked down a street in the Negro section of the city where the conference was being held and discovered that the largest theater owned and patronized by Negroes was just then showing a film entitled The Yellow Peril!

Is the motive of misrepresentation always evil? Does the law of libel adequately protect a racial or national group from misrepresentation?

13. Booker Washington used to tell with great amusement how he entered a little town and spoke to a large gathering, making as good a speech as he was capable of. The next morning he picked up the town paper, expecting to see himself and the meeting given considerable and prominent space, but found only an inch or so of recognition on the last page. He had made a successful speech, but the whole front page was given to a Negro who had made an *unsuccessful* attempt to snatch a woman's purse.[1]

Is misrepresentation by misplaced emphasis or the suppression of certain types of information limited to newspapers? Are books and articles that give glowing accounts of the finer characteristics of a race but say nothing of its defects less misrepresentative? Does the average American have opportunities to form his own opinion of racial groups which will correct misrepresentations and suppressions?

Before answering the last question, consider the following incidents:

14. A Parent-Teacher Association in a Pennsylvania city voted to give a scholarship. When it became known that the

[1] William Pickens, The New Negro, New York, 1916, p. 230.

person eligible was a Russian youth, many members of the association gave voice to their feeling of resentment. One woman present at the meeting had professionally been brought into close touch with the foreign-born and did not share the prevailing view. She made a strong plea for an award of the scholarship regardless of the nationality of the recipient. A heated discussion followed, in the course of which this woman succeeded in arousing interest in wider aspects of the subject, with the result that for some weeks the topic of immigration was seriously debated by the members.

At a later meeting, the woman member of the association who had been loudest in her protest against the proposed award got up and said: "I apologize for the unkind remarks I made at an earlier meeting about our foreign-born neighbors. Since that meeting I have read three books on immigration and discussed the subject with my family. I am willing to acknowledge that I now have a vastly different opinion of the foreigner and am ready to help in his adjustment."

15. Early in my life, as far back as I have any recollection, I was taught to hate the Negro with all the force my childish impulses could muster, writes a student in a middle-western university. To me all Negroes were fiends and intent upon killing me if ever they obtained the opportunity. Even in later years I never saw a Negro but what I would tremble with fear and get out of his sight as quickly as possible.

This misconception sprang entirely from environmental influences in my home life. I still remember hearing my father tell me to keep away from Negroes, that they would harm me. Whenever my mother wished to instill discipline in me, she would threaten that "a big black man would get me" if I didn't behave. And it was a matter of social environment that caused my parents to take this attitude: A colony of Negroes lived across the river from our home, and we always had considerable trouble with them. . . .

I had no contact with the Negro. A barrier had been built for me. I was not given an opportunity of deciding for myself whether my attitude was correct. It was part of my social heritage, and for years I never doubted that it was correct.

However, as I grew older and began to read here and there about social problems and their relation to the Negro, I began to have a change of attitude. It did not come suddenly, and even yet my attitude is influenced somewhat by the early training I received. Of course, I soon learned that the sole idea in a Negro's mind was not to go about killing people. . . .

As I remember it, it was in my second year of high school that first I learned how narrow had been the ideas I had held of the Negro problem. I followed a series of articles that dealt with the situation at length. This was the first inkling I ever had that anyone looked with the least possible hope upon the Negro. It was only through continued reading and study that I saw the folly of my stand and that my attitude was based upon an entirely false valuation of the Negro.

What brought about the fuller understanding in these two examples? What part did conscious educational endeavor play in the change of opinion?

16. One can fancy, writes Mary E. McDowell, Commissioner of Public Welfare in Chicago, the lasting impression made upon children who have often been frightened by the warning: "If you are not a good girl the black man will get you." I, on the contrary, had such different experience in childhood with colored people who were so kindly and so human that I find it difficult to enter into this fearful state of mind that has built these notions among the whites.

"Harvey," whose homely black face meant to all of us an honorable, faithful friend, who went all through the Civil War with our father, has colored all our relations with Negro men. This type was again brought to my notice when a young colored boy brought a letter of introduction from my Kentucky cousin who said, "I have known this boy's family for three generations and have never known more honorable men, black or white."

Are children often threatened that a "black man" will catch them? What other threats of that sort are used to enforce discipline? Do they to any large extent influence one's opinion of other races later in life even when there have been opportunities of knowing more of them through personal contact?

What are the effects of faulty knowledge, of misinformation? Is it possible to be sympathetic toward other people if one associates their racial type with undesirable characteristics? Can one be considerate without understanding?

Is personal contact essential to correct knowledge of other peoples? Does it always make for correct information? Do different parts of the country think alike about specific races or nationalities known to them from personal contacts? Are differences in their opinions the result of a different volume and quality of contacts? Is the search for correct information itself influenced by the nature of the approach, by previous attitudes?

What are the major ways in which an insufficient or faulty knowledge of other races can be corrected?

Are there any racial or national groups in your community which, you think, are misunderstood? Is there in your community some continuous source of misrepresentation—any group which, from whatever motive, attacks some other group by defaming it? Is there in your community any group especially charging itself with the task of informing the different racial or national elements of the population about each other?

Before answering the following questions, the reader is asked to study the next chapter.

Are such misunderstandings as have been illustrated in this chapter obstacles to good relations between different racial groups? Do they influence attitudes seriously? Can prejudices be traced in any large degree to misinformation?

CHAPTER II

Some Traditional Attitudes

See note on top of page 1

What Is It?

What is the most common attitude of native white Americans to those of other stocks? Let the following examples illustrate:

17. An Italian woman, a mother of nine children, at the end of her third lesson in English, looking wistfully at her teacher, asked:

"Lady, you Protestante?"

"Yes," responded the teacher, "and you?" They both waited while the Italian woman was struggling to find English words expressing her meaning. Finally she said slowly:

"Sometimes me, my girl, in dark, go stand by church, hear sing." She indicated a church building near her home.

"Why do you not go in?"

Lifting her shoulders and spreading her hands in an expression of impossibility, she replied, "Know nobody. Everybody look strange at us."[1]

18. The Friendly Visitor had been asked to call on a young Russian Jewish woman who had not been long in this country. She found the young woman homesick, lonely and despondent in spite of her new and shining American home. The husband, an ambitious American Jew, had evidently done his best to encourage the Americanization of his wife by taking an apartment in a section of the city settled largely by the older immigration, but the newcomers had been conspicuously ignored by their Gentile neighbors, and the young wife felt bitterly alone. The Friendly Visitor was welcomed with al-

[1] Mary Clarke Barnes, Neighboring New Americans. Fleming H. Revell Co., 1920, p. 35.

most pathetic appreciation as the young woman was soon to become a mother and was fearful of the experience amid alien and unaccustomed surroundings. On leaving, the visitor, who had offered to make necessary arrangements with doctor and district nurse, said cheerfully, "Now if you are alone and need me quickly just call one of your neighbors and she can telephone me." The shadow of despondency again settled on the face of the young woman as she answered, "There isn't any one to call. All the people who live around here are Christians."

These examples show immigrants surrounded, apparently, by people of a different nationality and race. Is that a typical situation? Could these women have known their neighbors? Could they have got on friendly terms with them? What would the neighbors have said of the Russian Jewish woman had she tried hard to become acquainted with them?

19. In the early days of our work, writes Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, we found a widespread indifference on the part of Protestant clergymen and school teachers to the conditions of children in coal breakers and glass factories, chiefly on the ground that they were foreigners and, if they went to church or school, they went to the Catholic Church and the Parochial School.

I recall one Protestant clergyman in Ohio, whose congregation contained a number of glassblowers who were both employers and employees, being permitted under the system which ruled at the factories to hire their own helpers. His study was so close to one of these factories that at 10 o'clock at night he could hear the boys shouting and singing at work. Though he had lived in the city for some time, he confessed that he had never been in the glass factory at night and knew nothing about the conditions under which these boys worked. The boys were not members of families of his church, but for the most part children of immigrants and, though just across the way, were of no interest to him.

Is the fact that the boys were "foreigners" the cause of the pastor's lack of interest in them? Would he have been concerned about their night work if they had been Roman Catholic but white boys of native parentage?

Would you pay the same attention to a little ragged and emaciated bootblack of obviously foreign parentage as you would to a boy apparently of your own race in similar condition?

20. A white teacher paid a visit to a university for colored youth. After he had addressed the student body at chapel, he offered, with the consent of the president, to answer questions. Several were asked and answered. At the close of the meeting, the president remarked: "You don't know how much this has meant to my students. This is the first time that many of them have had an opportunity to ask a white man a question on race relations when they could expect to receive a courteous answer."

21. A large industrial corporation in Akron, Ohio, had developed excellent labor management policies in dealing with its native-born and other English-speaking employees, and provided many of the so-called welfare services for these, but neglected almost entirely its non-English-speaking workers.

This corporation had a rule not to employ any one who was unable to speak English and who had not declared his intention of becoming an American citizen. But when the expansion of its business required additional workers, this rule was waived. And we were informed by the employment manager that in addition to its regular employees there were about four hundred immigrant workers who lived in what he himself called "the lousy house," which turned out to be barracks and bunks for the "foreigners." These men were secured through interpreters, who acted as their gang bosses and ran the commissaries. They did their own cooking, the company paying the cooks. They did not associate with the other employees in the recreation facilities provided by the company, and its welfare work did not reach them.

These men were living in a "labor camp," although employed in a large city where home life was possible. Such camps are often used by city industries needing large supplies of common labor.[1]

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[1] William M. Leiserson, Adjusting Immigrant and Industry. Harper and Brothers, 1924, p. 70.

Have you noticed how the most recently arrived national or racial group in your community lives? Are the working conditions of recent immigrants a current topic of discussion in the community? Do industrial employers fear public opinion when they house Negroes or Mexicans for long periods in box cars, in sheds and other makeshifts? What would people say if they put native white Americans up in that way? Are immigrant workers less sensitive to their surroundings than native white workers?

22. At a meeting for the promotion of international friendship through the churches, a retired naval officer spoke with enthusiasm of the peace movement in a western city. As he described it, his hearers got the impression that practically every citizen in that community was the member of one anti-war organization or another. Some one from another western city, apparently with a real desire for information—for, the situation as described had a question for him which would not have occurred to others in this eastern conference—asked the speaker whether the Japanese in his community were entitled to membership in the various organizations which he had mentioned. This quite nettled the speaker who failed to see any connection between the problem of the prevention of war and the relations between whites and Orientals in America.

The following example shows how contact brought about through natural causes may change a previous attitude of mutual neglect between members of different races to mutual appreciation and helpfulness:

23. In a certain part of Fresno, Cal., an Armenian and an American family had been living side by side for several years. The American parents, although they knew nothing of their neighbors, would not permit their children to associate with the Armenian children. It happened that one boy from each home attended the same class at school and became very friendly, though they did not meet out of school hours.

The American boy was taken ill, and his Armenian friend determined to see him. So he had his mother prepare some rare Armenian delicacy and started forth. He met a cold reception at his friend's front door. However, at his urgent

request he was admitted. The illness continued for some time, and little by little the parents of the American boy recognized the joy brought into the invalid's life by the visits of his friend. The Armenian mother did many thoughtful things for her boy's playmate, and finally the American woman felt called upon to express her gratitude. After making the acquaintance of her neighbors, she regretted the years she had missed in cultivating the friendship of that family with whom she found she had much in common.

Is lack of knowledge a main cause of indifference and neglect? Does dislike always play a part in it? Do the different groups feel that they have nothing in common? Is the dominant group more neglectful of others than the lesser groups?

Reactions to Physical Appearance

Some writers on race assert that men have an "inborn" dislike for those of strange appearance, which is biological and cannot be wholly overcome. Others dispute this and say that the attitude of repulsion from persons of strange appearance is acquired by parental and other outside influences.

There exists a widespread racial antipathy founded on color —an animal-like instinct, if you will, but an instinct which must remain in existence until the world becomes Utopia.[1]

The causes of racial dislike must be sought elsewhere than in purely physical differences. Confirmation of the view that racial feeling is not inborn is found in the fact that until quite recent times the conscious sentiment of race has been an almost negligible factor in human history and has played hardly any part in determining the relations of peoples to one another.[2]

24. A Negro student at a northern theological college writes:

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[1] B. L. Putnam Weale, The Conflict of Colour. Macmillan Co., 1910, p. 110. See also the definition on p. 211.

[2] J. H. Oldham, Christianity and the Race Problem, Student Christian Movement, London, 1924, p. 34. See that chapter for illustrations in support of the author's contention.

Not long ago I spent a week-end with a friend at whose church I was scheduled to speak. My presence in the home was quite a curiosity to his four-year-old daughter. She had never seen my like before.

I made several friendly overtures, and at length she said, "Have a seat over there," pointing to a large Morris chair. As soon as I was seated, she jumped into my lap, took both of her hands, rubbed them on my face and then examined them to see if any of my color had been removed. Discovering no change in my face and no stain on her hands, she asked with great earnestness and anxiety, "Are you black all over?"

"Yes."

"Are you black under your collar?"

"Yes."

"But I know you don't have black feet?"

"Certainly."

"Did you have to be black? Why aren't you white like Daddy?"

After this grilling cross-examination our friendliness increased, and when I left the home, as far as I could see her from the distance, she was waving a fond good-by to the human being she had discovered under a black skin.

Compare your own analysis of this incident with the following given by the narrator himself:

Ruth's first reaction was one of shyness mingled with fear. My overtures assured her that I was harmless and friendly in spirit. A relationship of primary contact established, she proceeded to a first-hand investigation of the phenomenon. Her first problem was whether my color was genuine or artificial, and whether it covered my entire body. "If he is the same color all over, he must be different from Daddy." The next step was to see if I had chosen my color or if I had had no choice in the matter.

Convinced that I was black and had always been black, she dismissed that difference as beside the point and began to appreciate that part of me over which she felt that I had a measure of control. In other words, she judged me by the qualities which I had in common with her father and not by

our differences. In a very fundamental way Ruth's attitude was one of sympathetic understanding which led to a very real respect for my personality.

Is the process here pictured one which we usually apply to making the acquaintance of persons of strange appearance? Is it natural with children? Does an experience of first-hand investigation, such as Ruth's, to any extent influence a person's attitude toward other races?

25. A circumstance narrated to the writer a few months ago by a young New York lawyer, a man of college training and high character. . . .

It chanced that I found myself in an unfamiliar, modest restaurant at the luncheon hour. I had seated myself, and the waiter had just served my order, and with good appetite I was about to enjoy my midday meal, when there entered two Negroes, fairly well dressed, gentlemanly in their conduct, evidently above the ordinary laboring class, and, as I should judge, clerks or small business men. I observed that my waiter did his best to convince them that there was no room for them, but observing two unoccupied seats at my table, they placed themselves opposite me and proceeded to give the waiter their orders. The effect of their presence so close at hand did not tend to give zest to my appetite. Abruptly ending my meal, I arose and, calling the waiter, paid my bill and departed. As I left the table the Negroes instinctively noted the situation, but I could not overcome my dislike to their presence at my table. The waiter said to me, "I am sorry, sir, but I couldn't help it, they just took those seats." I felt sorry for them, sorry for the waiter, and ashamed of myself as an American gentleman, but the fact remained that the repugnance to their presence was not to be overcome.[1]

Have you experienced similar feelings to those described apologetically by this lawyer? Would this lawyer be likely to leave the table abruptly when told that the food had been prepared by a colored cook? Is there anything about sitting down at the same table that makes contact more intimate than

[1] William P. Pickett, The Negro Problem. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909, p. 106.

contact between servant and served or infant and nurse? Supposing the two Negroes had worn turbans and spoken French, would the lawyer's feeling have been the same?

Before answering consider some instances like the following:

26. When Miss Maude Royden, the well-known English preacher and author, was in this country a few years ago, she attended a convention in a southern city. On the Sunday, much to the astonishment of her hosts and the expressed horror of some of those of her own denomination, she chose a local colored church for the delivery of a sermon. In the course of this convention, a local hostess gave a dinner for Miss Royden and at her side, in the place of second honor, seated a Eurasian woman from India, a woman rather dark in color. Miss Royden afterwards said that many of her countrywomen would have been as outraged to be seated next to this Eurasian woman as her hostess would have been if, invited as a guest of honor in England, she were seated next to a Negro woman. As for her own part, she welcomed any chance to sit next to an interesting woman of either race.

27. Bishop Charles H. Brent, who was in the Philippines for many years, and in constant social relationship with the Filipinos, contributes the following incident:

I went to a town where one of the progressive business men was an American Negro married to a Filipino wife. His house was the only hostelry in the place, and I often put up at it. It seemed to me that it was absurd to be willing to sit down at the same table with Filipinos and not to sit down with this very respectable Negro. I proposed it one night when he was sitting back, waiting for me to finish my meal. I could see that he was quite shocked. Of course I did not press the invitation because I could see that he would be uncomfortable.

28. In a small city in New Jersey is a colony of thirty-four Greek families, many of them recent arrivals in this country. Feeling the need of a place to worship according to their custom, they rented a storeroom for a church, fitted it up with an altar, and brought a priest of the Greek Orthodox Church from Athens.

The priest, ambitious to learn English right away, went to the nearest public school and joined one of the night classes for foreigners. One night, while on his way home from school, he was set upon by a "lot of toughs" and so badly hurt and frightened that he never went back to the school. The president of the church, who keeps a grocery store, said he thought that the priest's long beard probably incited the attack.

Is the antipathy of white for colored persons instinctive? Is there a similar revulsion of colored for white persons? Has a colored nurse to do violence to her feelings before she suckles a white infant? Is there a beard prejudice as distinct from a color prejudice? Is there a hat prejudice?[1]

Is repugnance for color ever isolated from other possible causes of repugnance—such as differences in status, habits, language, etc.? Do people have the same race repugnance permanently, or are they aware of it only at times? Does it come over them even when they are ignorant of the race of the person with whom they are thrown?

Do you know of cases in which individuals have acquired a repugnance to contact with those of other races which they did not possess earlier in life? How has this come about?[2]

Select two or three feelings of unpleasantness occasioned by contact with other races about which there is agreement. See if you can account for these feelings. Trace back of any feeling that first occurs to you experiences or associations, perhaps lying a long way back, that may help to explain it.

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[1] The remark is attributed to Booker T. Washington that objection is made not to a man's color but to his hat; "for," he said, "if I were to wear on my head a little red fez instead of an American hat, I could ride in a Pullman car in any part of the country without molestation."

[2] Try this exercise: Make a list of half a dozen persons you dislike and draw up honest specifications of the reasons for your dislike, separating intellectual reactions, such as disagreements and moral judgments, from spontaneous or seemingly instinctive reactions, such as the effect of color, voice, gait. For each such characteristic found try to discover some other associations in your experience which might explain the dislike. Find how many of these characteristics are attributable to race.

Select now one or two racial groups contact with which gives unpleasant feelings to some and not to others. Find the reasons for this difference of feeling. Trace back any reasons that first occur to possible differences in experiences and early associations.

What difference, if any, is there in the feeling of repugnance or attraction toward different races? For instance, is the repugnance of whites, so far as you know, for Mongolians as strong as for Negroes?

Can repugnance between races be eliminated? What would be the effect on the survival of your own race?

Before coming to final conclusions on the subject of physical repugnance between members of different races, proceed with the following sections of this chapter.

Reactions to Political and Religious Backgrounds

That the association of races and nationalities with historical facts and religious traditions must influence the feelings of other races and nationalities toward them need not, perhaps, be argued. We shall expect to find attitudes between different groups in America colored by their historical experiences with each other, not only in America itself but also before they came to America.

29. Antagonism between Protestants and Catholics and the pride of the "old families" complicate every community problem in S., a New England manufacturing town with a population of about eight thousand. In addition to a fairly large native American element, there are Italians, Poles, Germans, Irish and Swedes.

A group of American women, through the D. A. R., the Red Cross, and the Y. W. C. A., became interested in the immigrant groups which, they felt, were making little constructive contribution to the life of the community. They admitted that the fault was largely that of the American-born. As a first step, a nationality exposition was organized. Women representing different nationalities were invited to join committees; handwork from fourteen countries was brought to-

gether for exhibition. Each evening of the three days' exposition at the town hall different nationality groups performed dances, music and plays. Some 1,800 to 2,000 persons, representative of all parts of the population, attended.

As a result of this happy experiment, a community council was formed to bring all groups together to work for the good of the town, more especially to arrange for similar events for the future. But again the Protestant-Catholic fuss somehow got started, ran through politics, school affairs, the Visiting Nurse Association and other organizations, and killed the community council.

All that remains of the original effort are some small clubs of foreign-born girls under the auspices of the Y. W. C. A.

What traditions lay behind the unwillingness of various foreign groups to participate in the attempted community activities? Do imported antagonisms between peoples play a part only in the attitudes of different groups toward each other, or also in their attitudes toward the United States? What influences in American life tend to keep these attitudes alive? To weaken them?

30. The rabbi of an old synagogue appeared before the Juvenile Court in Philadelphia one day in 1922, to lodge a complaint against eight gentile boys who had been arrested for entering the synagogue, tearing down hangings and smashing valuable furnishings, ornaments, and vessels. After presenting his testimony, the rabbi pleaded with the judge for a release of the culprits, requesting, however, that the parents be reprimanded for the bad upbringing of their children. In doing so the judge said:

"I would not like to discharge these boys without imposing at least a light sentence. I think the least the parents can do is to pay for the damage wrought which amounts to $56.75. They must pay this before I set the boys free.

"The parents as well as the boys must be made to understand that in this land of ours each one is free to worship God according to his own conscience.

"Had Jewish children committed such a desecration in a Catholic or Protestant church, such a hue and cry would have been raised that it would have resounded in the heavens. Nor

can we dismiss the matter when gentile children conduct themselves so shamelessly in a Jewish synagogue."

Where did these boys get their attitude toward Jews? Is there anything peculiar in the attitude of various peoples toward Jews that distinguishes it from attitudes toward other alien races? What is it? Is anti-semitism in America merely an importation? Is there a strong antagonism toward the Jewish religion in the United States that explains antagonism toward the Jewish people? Are religious Jews more disliked than irreligious ones?

31. A Greek waiter married a young woman of North Italian birth. Her people had made quite a little money in the fruit business and other small business ventures. Both the Greek and the Italian groups in the community disapproved of the marriage.

On the day after the wedding, the bridegroom's Greek fellow-waiters had a prolonged discussion, and there were discussions also among some of the young educated Greek men of the town. Their objection was purely on a religious basis, since the bridegroom had joined the Roman Catholic Church. They admitted that he had not "embraced it very closely." One of the young Greeks remarked to the Greek Catholic priest: "None of us have ever taken the time to say a word to him about the religion of his fathers. He knows very little about it and really has had no religion. So why should we object if he takes an interest in his wife's church?" The priest agreed that it was the fault of the Greek people, and that the man was probably no worse off for having joined the Roman Church.

The Italian objection to the marriage was based chiefly on the recent political disagreements between Italy and Greece. But social discrimination also entered into their judgment. They commented on the fact that the bridegroom was "nothing but a waiter" while the girl was one of the nicest and best educated among the local Italians. They also remarked upon the fact that her people were evidently financing the young people's setting up housekeeping. The Greek colony did not think this worth remarking upon as it is frequently done in Greek families.

What would a person not knowing of the various factors involved in this incident think if he heard of a fight between Greeks and Italians in the community over the marriage of a Greek with an Italian girl? Can you think of cases of friction attributed to differences in race where other controversial factors were present?

Reactions to Foreign Languages

In the common mind, strange appearance and strange language create a similar distaste. When they happen to coincide, whole race theories may be built upon the coincidence without the slightest biological foundation for them. Thus concern for the Anglo-Saxon "race" as distinct from the Latin is not uncommon.

32. In Duquesne, Pennsylvania, a representative of a government bureau lecturing on "Abraham Lincoln and American Democracy" to Russians was arrested and imprisoned as a Bolshevik because he lectured in Russian. It took the government thirty-six hours to free its own agent. He says: "After they found out who I was and set me free, I asked the mayor of the city whether he would allow me to deliver my lecture now. He said that he would not."[1]

33. A middle western city which had grown rapidly employed an expert to systematize the numbering of streets and to weed out duplicates in the naming of streets. His report mentioned the existence of a Lincoln Avenue and a Lincoln Street in the same part of the city and suggested that the former be renamed Pulaski Street after the great general in the American Revolution. This name would please the Polish residents who occupied the southern part of the street.

Immediately there was a protest from the residents in the northern part of the street who, for the most part, were native Americans of North-European extraction. They did not want to live in a street called after "some old immigrant." Many of them had never heard of Pulaski; but even when the significance of this great patriot to America was made clear to them, it did not change their minds.

[1] Jerome Davis, The Russian Immigrant. Macmillan Co., 1922, p. 171.

One particularly irate lady admitted that the post office frequently delivered parcels in Lincoln Avenue that were destined for Lincoln Street; she admitted that a fire which had broken out in the street not long ago had proved very nearly ruinous because the hose and ladder company, misunderstanding the call, had gone to the Avenue and wasted time before ascertaining where the fire was. She even admitted that Lincoln himself probably would have preferred to relinquish the honor of having two streets named for him in favor of one of the founders of American freedom. But the prejudice against a foreign name could not be downed with any reason; and the parcels still take their erratic course between Street and Avenue.

Are some foreign languages heard with more hostility than others? Is the hostility to foreign names of the same character as that to foreign languages? Is the dislike of foreign speech instinctive? Before answering the last question consider some further examples:

34. A number of years ago, writes the headworker of a New York settlement, I had occasion to visit one of the police courts. The magistrate invited me to sit with him on the bench and see how he dispensed justice. An Italian peanut vender was brought before him, charged with assaulting a customer in a row over the payment of five cents' worth of peanuts. The complainant was a native American. The Italian stated, through an interpreter, that the customer had refused to pay him. It appeared from the testimony on both sides that the American had teased the Italian to have a little fun with him, but the Italian had failed to see it from this point of view and, becoming angry, had struck the customer.

The Italian understood very little English. He was made to appear rather ridiculous for taking the matter so seriously, and the situation had some elements of comedy which the judge, the court officials and the crowd in the court room all realized and enjoyed with considerable merriment.

I shall never forget the bewildered look on the face of the poor Italian. I have wondered at the impression made upon his mind as to the dignity of a court of law and the quality of justice meted out. There was anything but a sympathetic un-

derstanding of his case. He was made the butt of the whole situation.

35. "What is one to do with these foreigners?" said a sincerely well-meaning plant manager. "Sometimes the Polish workers—usually women—get together in a corner of a room gesticulating and jabbering in their language, and nobody in authority is able to understand a word of it! Then one of them who can make herself understood may come up to the foreman, or to me, and say, 'The workers want so and so.' Meanwhile the workers stand around as expressionless and stolid as this radiator beside me. The leader who comes forward is soon spotted as the one who has been doing most of the talking. She may tell what is wanted and I might say, 'Well, we can meet you half-way. We will do this much.' Then more gesticulating and more foreign language talking, and set faces, and stubborn resistance. Nothing but all will do—no matter what the mill owners' inconvenience in the matter."[1]

How many different reactions toward foreign languages do you distinguish in the examples given? What attitudes do they produce? What is the effect of these attitudes on those who speak these languages as their mother tongue? What would be your reaction if, in a foreign country, you found your name ridiculed, your language despised, your difficulty in learning the language of the country unrecognized?

Somewhat distinct are the attitudes which arise not from a particular feeling toward foreign sounds but from the sheer inability of persons to understand each other because of differences of language:

36. To bring together different national groups that do not ordinarily mingle, writes a settlement worker in the Middle West, we have tried to admit to the women's club—which is

[1] William M. Leiserson, *op. cit.*, p. 100. In his very next sentence, continues the author, this man answered his own question. He had had a clear illustration of what would work among these women—and yet he had never thought to apply it. He said that on an occasion similar to the one described, a Polish woman secretary from the International Institute of the Y. W. C. A. spoke to the disturbed group of women in their own language, and her ability to reason with them and to make herself understood quieted them and settled the trouble.

largely an Irish-German-English organization—women of other foreign nationalities in the neighborhood. In theory, this was an excellent means of amalgamation, but in practice it did not work. The so-called "Americans" objected to their club becoming "foreign" and came so near breaking it up on account of this that the plan had to be abandoned.

I think the chief trouble was that we had attempted to get the Lithuanian women whom we knew elected in a body. Another factor was that the foreign women did not speak English well which made it difficult for them to understand what was going on and also marked them off as different from the older established groups in the club.[1]

37. A young Hungarian of good family and education who came to this country a few years ago tells of one of his earliest experiences in America, which frequently repeated since that time, have given him the impression that many Americans, though well meaning in their intentions toward the foreigner, do not have enough imagination to carry their intentions into effect.

His first invitation into a really American home was an event. He went with the greatest expectations. His hostess and the members of the party were friendly; but as soon as he had been introduced and talk became general he found himself almost as completely apart from what was going on as though he were looking at it through a window. They talked so fast and indistinctly that the foreigner, who was only just acquiring the rudiments of English speech, was unable to follow the conversations. Even when they spoke to him, they did not trouble to enunciate more clearly. Some would shout at him as though he were deaf; some would use the first excuse to turn away from him.

Games were played, and though he understood their drift, he could not take part because the pace was beyond his verbal capacity. He got the feeling more and more that he was treated as though he were too ignorant or stupid to take part

[1] The account continues to relate a number of practical steps taken to bring the different nationalities together without forcing them upon each other—including an organization of individual visits by members of the women's club upon the more newly arrived immigrant women in the neighborhood.

in the games, when as a matter of fact he felt impeded only by his difficulty of expressing himself and knew that if the games were conducted in his own language he could be as brilliant as any of the rest of them.

When an attempt was made to draw him into the conversation, there was no deliberate choice of a topic which he could be expected to know something about, or in the discussion of which his meager vocabulary might be expected to be adequate.

The following example illustrates a change in attitudes as the result of an effort to overcome the language difficulty:

38. The Rumanian colony in an industrial city of Pennsylvania had for years lived with practically no social associations with those of other nationalities. A social agency and a woman's club organized some of the Rumanian women in an English class which was eventually adopted by the School Board while volunteers continued follow-up work in the homes and occasionally sponsored a social affair to which native American as well as Rumanian women were invited.

Gradually the interest in these people spread. The priest of the Rumanian church was invited to join the clergy association. The Y. W. C. A. made a collection of Rumanian books and placed them on loan in a branch library in the Rumanian district. This brought more people of that foreign colony in personal touch with both the library and with the public school.

Is common speech essential to understanding? What are some of the difficulties faced by newcomers with a slight knowledge of the American language? Mention some possible means of communication between different groups other than language. Can friendly attitudes be created between groups through interpreters? Is it possible for two social groups to speak entirely different idioms and yet share the same culture?[1]

Reactions to Cultural Standards

There is yet another series of factors that make one set of people appear "queer" to another. But the different kinds

[1] See Kroeber, Anthropology. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1923, p. 110.

of queerness do not necessarily produce similar responses in the attitudes toward them. We may have disgust for a person who is queer in appearance, ridicule for one whose language is queer, curiosity for one whose beliefs are queer, and admiration for one whose acts are queer. Keep these possible differences in mind in considering the following incidents.

39. When the members of a trade union branch, made up for the most part of native American girls, were invited to join in a picnic with other branches known to them to be composed almost entirely of Jewish girls, they protested. "What for should we want to go on a picnic with those Jewish girls?" they asked. However, a majority of them were persuaded by an appeal to union solidarity. The party passed off without a hitch; indeed, all seemed to enjoy themselves greatly, and if they were conscious of racial differences, they did not show it.

One of the native American girls explained it afterwards: "You see, we had expected a lot of these dolls, all painted up, in impossible clothes and shoes in which one can't walk. But when they turned up in knickers and sweaters like ourselves, without gloves and without hats, knew how to make a fire and were just as accustomed to being out in the open as we were, we quite forgot that they were Jewish."

40. On their arrival at Washington, D. C., two East Indian students from a western university went to a respectable hotel and asked for a room with bath. The clerk at the desk looked them over severely for over half a minute and then told them that he had no vacant rooms—in a tone the meaning of which could not be misunderstood. Realizing that nothing was to be gained from arguing with the man, the students went back to the Union Station and telephoned to one of the best hotels in the city. The clerk at this hotel took the voice for that of an American and asked whether the two "Hindus" for whom he was asked to make reservations were "dressed properly" and "civilized looking." On receiving answers in the affirmative, the students were given nice rooms and the best of attention.

41. Most Americans who employ Mexicans as house servants, writes a Texan missionary, sooner or later complain of their dishonesty. I sent a girl to the home of an American, a

church member. The girl was a member of our mission, and I knew her and her whole family to be absolutely reliable. She had worked but a few days when the woman called me and asked if the girl was honest. I told her she was. She said that on the previous Sunday, the day before the girl went there to work, she had worn a diamond brooch to church. She had not seen it after that evening, and when she looked for it on the dress she had worn it was not there. She felt that the girl had taken it.

I asked her not to accuse the girl or to notify the police till a thorough search had been made. I also asked to have the girl come to the telephone. I explained the situation to the girl and told her that although I had perfect confidence in her, the woman did not know her as I did. The next morning, while she was cleaning the room, the girl found the brooch under the bureau where it had fallen on Sunday evening. The woman believed the girl might have returned it to that place when she found that it had been missed. She still suspected the girl, and naturally the girl left.[1]

What ground did the gentile girls have for forming their opinion of Jewish girls? The hotel clerk of East Indians? Is the forming of generalizations about other groups natural and inescapable? Is it harmful to understanding between groups? Do individuals, as a matter of fact, conform to a large extent to the picture which the community has of their race or nationality? What is the typical attitude to them if they obviously do not?

42. In reading the report of a group of social workers I found a remark like this: "Not yet Americanized; still eating Italian food."[2]

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[1] The correspondent adds: If she had stayed on, the Mexican girl would probably have justified the suspicion, for I have found that these people will respond to just that degree of confidence that is shown them. If one is always suspicious the suspicions usually become justified; that is, the person will begin to take things. But if one has confidence in them and makes them responsible for everything in the house, they rise to the responsibility.

[2] Enrico C. Sartorio. The Social and Religious Life of Italians in America. Christopher Publishing House, 1918, p. 57.

Can a man habitually eat macaroni and yet be a good American? Do Americans like differences in dress, diet and manners? Do they like to adopt foreign habits when abroad—"when in Rome do as the Romans?" Is the sense of strangeness usually or always mixed with a sense of contempt?

Is hostility to foreign customs due to an unconscious defense of cherished traditional ideals?

What do you know of characteristic cultural habits of the following groups: Mexicans, American Indians, Japanese, Armenians, Finns, Welshmen?

Reactions to Social Status

We have seen that the attitudes of a racial group toward others are determined, in part, by generalizations as regards their cultural standards and the expectation that each individual will fall within the general pattern of traditions and behavior that has been set up for his race or nationality. In a similar way, ideas of race or nationality are sometimes associated with quite definite conceptions of the social status occupied by members of a race or nationality, with results which are illustrated by the following episodes:

43. In one of the suburbs of New York a large plot of land on a rough hillside sloping down to the railroad track had been sold to a Negro developing corporation. Within a year or two some twenty homes were built, most of them on unfinished streets, but homes of a superior character, some of the two-decker variety, some individual cottages. All have gardens, many of them garages, and one of the homes has a tennis court. Some of the colored residents are better dressed than their white neighbors with whom a number of them, men and girls, apparently of the office worker type, commute into the city.

A white woman, of the high-class residential colony on the opposite hill, hearing of the arrival of so many colored families, had an idea. One morning she knocked at the door of the Negro home nearest the station, asking where she might find a cook. The colored woman who had opened the door tactfully replied: "Yes, servants are difficult to keep these days, aren't they? I have had three in less than two months!"

44. A native American woman drove over to the house of a Polish neighbor to inquire if the daughter of the Polish family would accept work as a servant for the American household. The American woman was dissatisfied with the attitude of the Polish girl, but she thought the old Polish woman was "nice." The girl did not seem at all pleased about the opportunity to work as a servant. The mother, however, was quite evidently anxious that the daughter should get the work. The girl asked in good English about the wages offered and the privileges as to days off and evenings out, and she stipulated the kind of work she would do in the household and what she would not do. The mother, in broken English, apologized for her daughter's attitude, apparently fearing that her questions might lose her the job. But the daughter explained that her teacher in the public school had told her to be independent like an American and to ask questions like that.

To the American woman seeking a maid this effect of Americanization was quite displeasing, and she preferred the attitude of the un-Americanized Polish mother. It is possible of course, that the Polish-speaking mother will prove to be a better American than the English-speaking daughter, but apparently it was the Americanization of the daughter that was most displeasing to her prospective native-born employer.[1]

45. The first family where I worked knew perfectly well that I spoke French and German—I heard them mention the fact to a guest at the table—but to them I was not any more interesting an object than any peasant girl who could neither read nor write. They might have known that I must have had some sort of education, for the average immigrant girl does not speak many languages. Our relations were entirely impersonal. I found out how foreigners are regarded by the old-line Americans, and I cannot say that it made me feel any more friendly toward America. I was still of the Old World, and who can blame me?[2]

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[1] William M. Leiserson, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[2] A Finnish girl quoted in Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted. Harper and Brothers, 1921, p. 51.

Is the assumption that Negroes or immigrant women are necessarily limited to menial work current only in some parts of the country? How do you explain the vehemence with which so many people insist on the low social status of Negroes or immigrants?

The following two examples show the difficulty experienced by individuals who, recent comers to a new social environment, do not conform to the particular attitude which prevails in it as regards the social status of another race:

46. Some years ago at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, a college girl who was attending a conference there came to me in distress and said she was short of money and needed work to pay for her entertainment. We did not need another worker, but to help her we opened the way for her to join the other college girls who were serving in the dining hall. She prepared her table for the first meal, but when the guests were seated there was no waitress. She had disappeared. When found her only explanation was that she simply could not do it—that is, she could not do what had once been the office of slaves—and in her own home had always been the task of Negro maids.[1]

47. The secretary of a charitable organization in the South who had been brought up in the North came in for much criticism when he went counter to the deep-rooted objection to using the term Miss or Mrs. in reference to colored members of his staff. Some of these women were college trained, of mature years and undoubted position and character. It was impossible for him to fall in with the custom of the white members of the board and other white citizens to address these colleagues as Mary, Jane and the like.

Is it as difficult for a northerner to fall into the typical attitude toward the Negro in the South as it is for a southerner to fall into the typical attitude toward the Negro in the North? If not, explain the difference.

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[1] W. D. Weatherford, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

Two examples may illustrate a more indefinite feeling than that shown in previous stories that the foreigner is, somehow, a social inferior:

48. We were seeking lodgings for two intelligent and attractive young Italians who were working on a dam at one of our settlement country places. Incidentally, the work they were doing was quite beyond the powers of any native workers in the vicinity of whom we could hear. We asked an old native couple, squatters on some adjacent land, to rent an unoccupied floor of their house to the two young men. The man, despite their extremely indigent condition (the wife went to the almshouse a short time after), absolutely refused, fearing the loss of social prestige if they "lived in the house with dagoes."[1]

49. A son of a leading lawyer of Naples came to this country and was soon holding a fine position and making a good living. He met at church an American lady who told him that she would be very glad to see him the next day at her house. At the appointed hour our young gentleman went there and handed his card to the servant. "Oh, yes," she said, "the lady gave me something for you," and she thrust into his hand a dilapidated suitcase and a note. The note read:

> Dear Sir,
>
> I have been called away suddenly, but my maid will give you the article which I intended to present to you in asking you to call. As I no longer have use for this suitcase perhaps it would serve you on your next trip to Italy.
>
> Trusting to see you at church next Sunday,
>
> Sincerely yours, ——[2]

50. I worked in a book store, writes a Negro student, which was managed by a young white fellow from Georgia. He disliked colored people very much, and whenever any came into

[1] Lillian D. Wald, The House on Henry Street. Henry Holt & Co., 1915, p. 300.

[2] Enrico C. Sartorio, The Social and Religious Life of Italians in America. Christopher Publishing House, 1918, p. 54.

the store his air was far from pleasant. I stood this as long as I could. One day I said to him: "Why do you hate us so? It isn't because of our color. If it were merely this, you would paint your Ford car white, shave off your black hair and sell all the black chickens in your yard. I'll tell you why. Your hatred is aroused only when you see us attempting to be your equals. It is an envious fear."

"Like h——— That's a lie."

Continuing, I said: "If I came here with no collar on, my shoes burst on the side, and generally unkempt, if I called you 'Cap' and 'Boss' and allowed you to kick me whenever you felt like it, you would tell your friends that I was a 'good nigger,' and you would be willing to make any reasonable sacrifice on my behalf. But if I came with a clean collar on, shoes polished, and generally neat in appearance, answered you 'yes' and 'no' and could talk with you intelligently about any question of interest, you would tell your friends that I was a 'bigoted nigger.'"

"I'll be d———ed if you aren't right! I had never thought of it that way."

51. An intelligent and refined northern colored man, John Jordan, graduate of an eastern college, was convalescing from a serious illness in a hospital in a southern city. One day he was directed, for light exercise, to go out and walk slowly around the block on which the hospital was situated. He started out, walking on the left side of the sidewalk, which was also the inside, in order that he might steady himself by taking hold of the fence as he walked along. Seeing a white man approaching, he hastily crossed to the outer edge of the sidewalk, in order to keep to the right in passing the stranger. In passing, Jordan brushed lightly against the coat of the white man. Jordan immediately snatched off his hat, bowed and exclaimed, "I beg your pardon, sir!" But the offended stranger cursed him violently and at length, declaring that he ought to be killed on the spot. Presently his rage abated, however, and he went away.

When Jordan returned to the hospital he asked the nurse for an explanation of the apparent unreasonableness of the white man, but she was unable to account for it. In his ward

he asked a colored neighbor for an explanation, which he gave readily: "You took off your hat and said, 'I beg your pardon, sir,' *just as though you were another white man.* You should have said, ' 'Scuse me, boss, 'scuse me!' Then he wouldn't have been so angry."

Why do many people believe that Negroes will always belong to one of the menial classes? Do they hold this belief also when they know prosperous and refined Negroes? Is there a similar attitude to immigrants? To all foreigners or only to those of certain races or types?

Has the apparent growth of antagonistic feeling toward immigrants in recent years any relation to the volume of immigration? To a change in the type of immigrants? Is the attitude toward Negroes likely to improve with the establishment of a Negro college in a community?

Can individual members of a race, by rising from its typical social status, change the attitude toward it? Do obviously rising cultural standards of a racial group, even when they do not change its social status, have the effect of changing the attitude toward it?

52. At the Pendennis Club in Louisville, Ky., it was customary for the colored waiters to give a concert at the annual club meeting for the entertainment of the members and their guests. On one of these occasions, a young Negro sang a number of solos, unusual not only for the quality of the singing but also for the choice of program which was not of the kind expected on such occasions.

At the close of the concert a member asked the young waiter if he would sing behind the curtain in his motion picture theater, which was one of the best in the city, during the presentation of a scene from an opera. The Negro assented, and the audience applauded long and vigorously. When, prompted by the manager, he appeared before the curtain to acknowledge the applause, the audience thought it a joke and laughed vociferously; for no black man had ever sung like this before such an audience. The orchestra struck up, however, and this strange creature now sang in front of the curtain, in full sight of all. The air was the same, the words were the same, the voice was the same. When the aria was

ended, there was absolute silence for an instant, then applause. more vigorous than before.

This young singer was Roland Hayes, recently returned to the United States after a conquest of Europe where he was hailed by many critics as the foremost living tenor. Since then he has appeared not only in the North with the Boston Symphony Orchestra and other distinguished organizations, but also in the South before audiences that had never heard a Negro soloist, and in halls to which Negroes had never been admitted.

Does art have the effect of lessening the feeling of strangeness between races, of making for more mutual sympathy? Does appreciation for the arts of immigrant groups overcome contempt for their social status? What other possible influences are there that may change the mutual attitudes between racial groups even though the difference in their social status remains the same?

Exploitation of Race Prejudice

In the previous chapter we were obliged to wind up our study of common misunderstandings with a glance into the deliberate creation of such misunderstandings by misrepresentation. In the same way, to understand traditional attitudes towards those of other races and nationalities, it is necessary to inquire whether any forces are at work to influence these attitudes for ulterior ends—either selfish or unselfish.

53. In the late summer of 1922, the Erie Railroad was engaged in a strike and tried to prevent serious losses and at the same time to intimidate the strikers by securing volunteer services from its suburban clientele. A leaflet was distributed which read:

> To Commuters, Erie Railroad:
>
> Many of the strikers who went out are engaged in doing violence to men who remain at work, at their homes and on their way to and from work.

Appended is a list of names taken at random from the former forces of the Erie Railroad at Jersey City (where violence has been marked).

The average rate these men received was $120 a month. Many of them received more, $120 being the average.

Stamminger Rogatski Niwicki

[*followed by 42 other foreign names*]

(Signed) J. M. CONDON, *Supt.*

The Chicago Journal of Commerce, in commenting upon this novel industrial war, pointed out that these 45 names were those of strikers, not of men convicted of any unlawful act; and that the leaflet did not state from how large a list these 45 foreign-sounding names had been selected.

54. A property owner in Merchantville, N. J., discovered that his father had given the town an option on a piece of ground, some years ago, for $5,300 and that the option would expire on June 23, 1923. He further discovered that a private real estate man would pay him $6,900 for this property in case the town did not take up its option. As there was then a referendum in support of an issue of bonds for the erection of a school on the land in question, the $1,600 difference between the two prices seemed as good as lost. But a little ingenuity might prevent the loss. One morning the citizens awoke to find the town plastered with posters which said:

Taxpayers, take notice—Remember when you vote for the school bonds, if you win you are voting to bring forty to fifty colored children into your school.

Our people don't want that to happen.

A row of houses will be rented to colored people, and this will bring their children into your school. Suit yourself.

Vote against the school bond issue or have a lot of Negroes live in your town.

At the time only one colored family was living in the town. Two neighborhood townships in which there are more colored

families have their own colored schools. The property owner's threat that he would bring in more colored people was based on a controversy a year before about the attendance at the Merchantville school of some colored children, one of whom carried away the honors of her class in 1922. But his bluff failed.[1]

What general motive, what specific purpose, have these two examples in common?[2] *Have such actions a measurable influence on public opinion? Can you think of cases where policies of this kind have been pursued on an even larger scale? On a nation-wide scale? For religious motives (or motives mistaken as such)? For political motives? Is our government ever influenced by propaganda which has for its specific aim the creation of race antagonism?*

We can now summarize our impressions as regards the causes of the different attitudes displayed in the examples in this chapter:

Recall your explanations for the incidents told and select six or more which seem to you to indicate racial impressions growing out of ignorance, misrepresentation or lack of contact with other races. Do you, or do you not, consider these fairly representative of the reason for racial impressions? Why?

Do these incidents imply that where other races are strange in appearance, habits, customs, characteristics, persons tend to have unfavorable impressions of them? Are such impressions unconnected with differences in social status?

Are common customs, ideals and speech essential to fellowship between different races? Is physical similarity essential? Is similarity in the general level of the social status of two groups essential? Suppose a man came into your church or

[1] From an article in Opportunity for July, 1923, and later correspondence.

[2] For examples of misrepresentation incidental to justification of discriminations against races or nationalities see the following chapters.

political club whose clothes were poor and outlandish, whose behavior was unusual, could the members enter into the same fellowship with him as with those to whose characteristics they were accustomed?

Recall the incidents which indicate favorable attitudes where there has been more knowledge or contact with the races concerned. Do you, or do you not, consider these fairly representative of experience with other races according to your observation? Do they prove that more knowledge of and contact with the races concerned would tend to remove or tend to confirm unfavorable impressions?

Are different racial groups hostile only at the first meeting? Does the feeling of hostility tend to wear off? What is your evidence? How do we get our impressions of what is typical of the appearance, character, customs and habits of other races?

From your observations and experience, which of the reasons found for racial attitudes do you consider the most important, which the second most important and which the third most important? Why?

CHAPTER III

Civic Handicaps

See note on top of page 1

We have witnessed in the evidences discussed in the two previous chapters a sort of cumulative process: common misunderstandings as well as certain psychological reactions lead to attitudes between racial groups or give a strained quality to them which interfere with a smooth adjustment between them. These problems of adjustment must now be further analyzed. We shall expect to find that such traditional attitudes as, for instance, the habitual association of race concepts with class concepts, lead to modes of behavior which make for disparity in the treatment of different races. We will now observe more closely the nature of these race distinctions and taboos, trying to discover what part social traditions, which are more or less permanent, and group or individual interests, which may be temporary, play in them; and not only how they arise but also how they affect the fortunes of individuals and groups, and the conditions that make for a harmonious community life. Only on the basis of such an inquiry shall we be able to discover what moral problems are involved in such inequalities of treatment both for those who make them and for those against whom they are directed.

For the sake of convenience, we will distinguish between four major types of handicaps imposed by different racial groups upon each other—civic, economic, educational and social—although they are often part of a general relationship which embraces them all.

In the Courts

One of the fundamental distinctions of the republican, and especially the American, form of government upon which we are apt to pride ourselves is the equality before the law which is supposed to be guaranteed in our nation's political constitution and a treasured heirloom of its history. Many believe that it constitutes one of the few ideals of democracy which have become accomplished facts. Americans are taught to view with abhorrence nations that deal out differential justice to the classes or races that compose them. Fair play in the administration of justice has become a cornerstone of our political as well as of our religious creed.[1]

55. A short time ago an educated young Greek bank employee was arrested on a charge of assault and battery. Although he had called the police and preferred the charge against the American who had attacked him and whose drunken condition supported the Greek's statement that he was the aggressor, the policeman who arrested the man said he did not believe him as he was a foreigner and that this American said he was the one who had attacked him, and so he believed him. The court accepted the policeman's account of the affair.

The young Greek was taken to prison, but luckily for him some prominent business men in the city went to the mayor and there told a different story, which was that while he

[1] It is important in the discussion of this subject to distinguish inequalities in law and administration, in the treatment of specific racial groups, from discriminations against all aliens as embodied in many statutes and ordinances, federal, state and local. In practice, of course, such laws and regulations may be interpreted differently in relation to specific racial groups. For instance, for several years the Russians were singled out in some quarters for a particularly harsh application of certain rules; and in some cases discriminatory laws, such as disfranchisement laws in southern states, are passed which, though no race or nationality is mentioned, are quite definitely understood to have in view the differential treatment of particular groups. For examples of such legislation see Kate H. Claghorn, The Immigrant's Day in Court; Jerome Davis, The Russian Immigrant; William M. Leiserson, Adjusting Immigrant and Industry.

was in a restaurant the drunken man passed some insulting remarks to him which he did not deign to notice. The man was drunk and trying to pick a fight, and the Greek, not caring to mix himself up in a brawl with that sort of person, paid no attention to him. When he went out on the street, he said, the drunken man was waiting for him and accused him of being a coward for not resenting his insults and struck him. When the Greek called the police, the American told the policeman that he was the one who had been struck.

The influence of the business men and of his employers saved the Greek from a jail sentence. The man who had struck him had gone free—no one even knew his name. The Greek said, "Had I been a poor waiter or a working man, I should probably still be in jail."

56. Two students from a colored school entered a drug store to buy tooth paste. When the clerk had some difficulty in finding the article, one of the boys, out of courtesy, indicated the position of the tooth paste. To his surprise, the clerk replied: "I don't need any help from a damned nigger." The other boy, fearing trouble, said: "Let us go." Then the clerk picked up a bottle and threw it in the face of one of the boys, cutting him severely. The two boys left the store. The school authorities had the case brought into the court. The judge dismissed the case on the ground that it wasn't a serious affair, and that the colored boy must have done something to provoke the clerk.

57. In South Carolina a white man stole an automobile and was sentenced for thirty days; on the same day and by the same judge a Negro who stole a bicycle was sent to the chain-gang for three years.[1]

Do these stories indicate an attitude in the courts which is different from the usual attitude toward native whites? What is the difference? How do you explain it? What part does difference of language play in it? [*See also example No. 34.*]

The following example shows in much greater detail what happens when a court is influenced by certain definite atti-

[1] Benjamin Brawley, Your Negro Neighbor. Macmillan Co., 1918, p. 94.

tudes—both its own and those current in the community—in its action upon a case involving persons of another race or nationality.

58. On Hallowe'en night at about 7:30 P. M. a young Portuguese repeatedly taunted by three American boys and hit with stockings filled with soot, finally turned upon them and gave Pat Milligan, a young Irish-American, a slight cut on the shoulder. The Portuguese immediately ran away.

Three nights later, Milligan, visiting Portuguese lodging houses with two policemen, picked out José Alvarez as his assailant. Alvarez was taken to jail and later bailed out by his brother, who at once enlisted the services of the only lawyer he knew, a young man of limited experience.

The lawyer made very little investigation. Deciding apparently that his client was guilty, he expended his energy largely in an attempt to persuade him to plead guilty. This Alvarez refused to do, declaring always that he was innocent.

On the day before the trial, Alvarez's friends enlisted Mr. Todd, the executive of a neighborhood organization. Having no time for a thorough investigation, he too suggested to Alvarez that he plead "non vult." Again Alvarez declared that he was not guilty.

At the trial Milligan and his friends testified that on the night of the cutting they were talking with Molly S. in front of Milligan's home next door to the store of Alvarez's brother, that a Portuguese appeared, hurled an obscene epithet in "Spanish" at the girl and passed on across the street. Milligan, they said, followed him and demanded an apology, struck at the Portuguese and received the knife thrust in his shoulder.

Molly S., put upon the stand, declared that she was talking with the three boys as they described, but that she saw no Portuguese at the time and knew nothing of the stabbing until after it had occurred. (This testimony she repeated in several other interviews. Its significance was completely ignored by those who were handling the case.)

When asked about the validity of the identification, the plaintiff and his mother vaguely indicated that they had known Alvarez for some months as a familiar figure on the

street. The judge accepted this identification; no one seemed to realize in this connection that Milligan and his friends after three days of inquiry about the neighborhood, "Who was 'that' Portuguese?" had sworn out a "John Doe" warrant.

Alvarez's defense rested upon an alibi. He presented at least a dozen witnesses, fellow lodgers, who agreed that on the evening in question Alvarez was in the house eating supper, playing cards and learning to play the mandolin from about 6 o'clock to 8:30. (All were agreed that the cutting occurred about 7:30.) The judge declared later that the testimony of these witnesses was invalidated because they "agreed too well."

Unfortunately these witnesses were obliged, with one or two exceptions, to talk through an interpreter. The assistant prosecutor who conducted the case took advantage of this in trying to confuse the witnesses and then in laying an elaborate trap for them. To each witness he put a few questions, such as the immigrant invariably learns always immediately upon his arrival in America—for instance, "Where were you born?" "How long have you been in the United States," "Where do you work?" "What wages do you get?" "Have you money in the bank?" The women stared blankly at him, even though he raised his voice and several times bellowed a repetition of his question. Most of the men knew this catechism and so fell into his snare—later, addressing the jury, he claimed this as a proof that they pretended ignorance of English in order to be allowed to use an interpreter.

Two boys—one American, the other born in Spain but educated in a public school in the same class with Milligan—declared that they witnessed the fight and that they saw beyond possibility of a doubt another Portuguese than Alvarez stab Milligan. The American boy said that although he had often seen the other Portuguese, he did not know his name. The Spaniard testified that he recognized him as a young man named Henrigues, similar in appearance to Alvarez, who lived in one of the neighboring lodging houses.

The prosecutor, summing up the case for the jury, said among other things: "I leave it for you to decide whose word you would more readily take—that of fellow Americans or

that of foreigners who have been in the country for years and can't speak English, or if they can speak it, pretend not to understand it."

The judge's charge was colored by such statements as: "You have a right in making your decision to judge whether the testimony of witnesses may be discounted by the fact that they are protecting a fellow countryman."

"The twelve good men and true" brought in a verdict of "guilty" with a recommendation for mercy.

After the trial, Mr. Todd set about an investigation of his own.

He interviewed a neighbor of the principals in the case—an old friend, Portuguese herself, but thoroughly "Americanized" by many years in the public schools—who testified to the good character of Alvarez, described the frantic attempts of the Milligan family to learn who "that Portuguese" was, and recalled seeing Alvarez at about 9 o'clock Hallowe'en night, when the street was seething with excitement over the attack upon young Milligan, quietly dealing out sugar and tobacco in his brother's store.

He saw the two boys who had testified that Alvarez was not the offender. Both of these had seen the other Portuguese, Henrigues, several times earlier in the evening harassed again and again by the three American boys and had been witnesses when he finally defended himself.

The Spanish boy had talked with Henrigues, and Henrigues had said: "I wish they'd let me alone. I don't want to hurt them but I can't stand much more, and I am afraid my temper will make me do them some harm." After the stabbing, he said, Henrigues ran toward the high board-fence back of the Portuguese lodging house.

Mr. Todd visited two of these Portuguese lodging houses, one in which Alvarez lived and the other on the floor above it where Henrigues lived. At the first the lodgers repeated the account, just as it was given at the trial, of Alvarez's movements on Hallowe'en night and described the midnight visit of Milligan and the police. At the other place the landlord and his wife and several boarders told how in the morning, a

few hours after Alvarez's arrest, Henrigues had taken his lunch and started out as if going as usual to the factory, but had never returned.

One boarder said that he sat alone at about 7:30, the time Milligan was stabbed, when the back door was burst open and Henrigues rushed into the room panting for breath and evidently under great excitement. He had stood there a moment as if trying to collect himself. Then he had gone into his room and closed the door.

Mr. Todd took this testimony to the judge and the prosecutor. He urged them to send an investigator down to the Portuguese lodging houses to look into the matter and bring them a report. This they were unwilling to do.

The judge was approached immediately with the new testimony but it was impossible to shake his conviction that Alvarez was guilty. He said: "The *Spaniards* have always been an inferior people." He seemed not to understand that Portuguese and Spanish are not identical. "The punishment of this man," he insisted, "may show these people that they mustn't carry knives and that they mustn't live by themselves in foreign colonies."

The one concession the judge was willing to make was the postponement of sentence against Alvarez for one week so that some attempt might be made (by Alvarez's friends, for the judge himself offered no help in the matter), to locate and perhaps bring back Henrigues. This delay was later lengthened to two weeks by the personal request of the Portuguese consul general ("merely," the judge declared, "as a matter of courtesy to the consul").

Meantime Alvarez's brother reported a rumor that a visitor some weeks before had said that Henrigues was living at M., Rhode Island. Mr. Todd, with one of the local Portuguese leaders, made a trip to M. They learned that Henrigues had been living there, they located the house in which he had lived, but were told that he had just left town. It has been reported from two sources since then that Henrigues, supposing Mr. Todd was a detective, was hiding there at the time of their visit. When Mr. Todd suggested to the judge that he go to M. to find Henrigues, he was told that Henrigues could

not be brought back unless a warrant had been sworn out for his arrest, and that he would then have to await the action of the May Grand Jury three months later. The judge rejected entirely the suggestion that an affidavit of guilt from Henrigues would indicate the innocence of Alvarez and should thus save him punishment. "If Henrigues is guilty," he said, "produce him. Tell the Portuguese they must hand him over to the law. No affidavit would amount to anything. Any foreigner will swear to anything if without suffering himself he can save a fellow countryman."

Alvarez, himself on bail and awaiting sentence, went to M., trying to bring back Henrigues. He located the factory at which Henrigues was working and planned to meet him there when he came to work the following morning.

Then he telephoned to Mr. Todd through a Portuguese friend, asking him to complete arrangements for Henrigues' arrest. He promised to telephone further particulars later in the day. This time, unable to reach Mr. Todd, he telephoned the young lawyer who had defended him. This time the lawyer took a hand effectively. He visited the Milligan family and gained their consent to let Patrick, accompanied by his mother, go to M., identify Henrigues, if possible, as his assailant, and swear out a warrant for his arrest. When they were all ready, Alvarez telephoned that Henrigues, evidently warned of his presence, had failed to appear at the factory. So this hope was given up.

The local authorities, including the judge, the chief prosecutor and his assistant, who tried the case, declared there was nothing they could do.

The prosecutor's office was as certain as the judge of Alvarez's guilt. The chief prosecutor, speaking of the alibi presented by Alvarez's friends, said: "You can get any of those foreigners to swear anything to help a fellow countryman. Why, any time there is a fight up in ——— you can get twenty Assyrians to come to court and testify for a friend." (The Assyrians come not from Portugal but northern Persia!)

His last resources having failed, also the patience of the judge, Alvarez came to the court house to receive sentence.

He was tremulous with nervousness, his lips quivered, and the blue veins throbbed at his temples.

The judge had declared obstinately that he was determined to impose a jail sentence "to teach these fellows." But he relented and made it a $250 fine. To poor Alvarez, who for four months had been haunted by fear of the penitentiary, this seemed the height of clemency. But the $250, added to the fees for his attorney (who charged $200 but was given only $100 by Alvarez's indignant brother), his own loss of work, two days' pay for his "cloud of witnesses" and other costs of trial must have mounted up to about $500, which represents twenty weeks' work in the factory.

An appeal to a higher court was possible, but that involved expense which was out of the question. "If Henrigues has any man in him, he'll come back and give himself up," said the assistant prosecutor. "Would you come back," asked Mr. Todd, "to a court room where the prosecutor preaches race prejudice to the jury?" "Mr. Todd," said the assistant prosecutor, "I have a right to say anything to win my case!" "Yes," said Mr. Todd, "even if it may send an innocent man to the penitentiary for seven years!"

Mr. Todd then decided to try the case in the court of public opinion. A letter to seven leading ministers of the town brought response from only one minister, who alone could not accomplish anything.

A detailed account of the case, made as dispassionate and matter-of-fact as possible, was prepared and offered to the local papers. One paper refused it entirely—"libel suit," they said. The editor of the other paper, though he warned of the danger of action for libel, was willing to print it, but was "called off" by the publisher.

A similar account was sent to a large number of papers and magazines. One rather radical publication, a thousand miles distant, printed the matter in full. Two others wrote back some time later that they would give space to it if it were reduced to three hundred words. It seemed impossible so to condense the account and not misrepresent the case.

Some local men showed some interest in the story; but indifference, timidity or professional ethics prevented their giving help beyond advice and recommendation.

Meanwhile down in the boarding houses and lodging houses there was much discussion. It was thought by some that the Hallowe'en trouble was responsible for an attack on Portuguese the New Year's night following, which led to a real race riot.

The Spaniards, identified with the Portuguese by their similarity of language and of physical characteristics, were drawn to a common cause with them. In fact, these two groups of men, the latest comers and considering themselves the object of a common persecution, were forced to lay off their old-world antagonisms and to "march to Fate abreast."

The standpoint of these two nationalities may well be represented by a discussion which took place at the Spanish Club one night at about the time of the Alvarez trial.

Said one man, referring to the charge that "foreigners" crowd together in colonies instead of becoming a part of the national life, "The Americans don't want us to live among them. Of course it is less lonesome for us to be with people that speak our language and come from our own country, and, besides that, we find that we are not welcome among any other people."

"Of course we oughtn't to fight with knives," said another. "We have laws against that in Spain, and men are punished there if they use knives; but when three men attack one man, how can he defend himself with his fists? I've been attacked upon the streets without provocation by three or four American men and I *know*. I never used a knife but I've wished I had one."

"Yes," said another, a quiet, refined young fellow, "I've never been attacked myself; but it's only because I stay in my room most of the time at night, especially on holidays. I don't want to get into trouble and I don't want to hurt anybody. But"—and an unwonted gleam leapt into his eye—"I always have this little knife in my pocket." He took out a little penknife and opened up its shining blades. "I never go out without this, and if any one attacks me, I'll use it!"

Do you think Alvarez was guilty? Why? Did the judge do everything that is expected of him to bring the guilty man to

justice? By what attitudes to race or nationality was the court influenced? What misunderstandings entered into these attitudes? Did the public prosecutor fulfill the function prescribed for him under our legal system? Did the jury have a clear presentation of the case? What was the effect of the affair on the foreigners in the community? Did the judge succeed in his endeavor to impress upon them a wholesome lesson? Was it his function to do so?

The following instances contain admissions that colored or immigrant plaintiffs or defendants cannot expect the same treatment in court as native white ones:

59. A case concerning the support of an illegitimate child by a wealthy colored man came before a southern court a few years ago. The defendant offered to pay $300 on condition that all further claims be waived. The social worker who represented the colored girl-mother refused to settle for this sum which, he said, was much smaller than men of substance had been obliged to pay in other similar cases. However, the court overruled his objection, stating that this was the largest amount ever given to a colored woman in a case of support for an illegitimate child.

60. A Pullman porter, named Griffin, was arrested in Montreal, charged with stealing a pocket-book, but the charge was not substantiated and he was released. He thereupon brought suit against Daniel F. Brady, who caused his arrest, and obtained a verdict for $2,500 in damages. The Supreme Court of New York reduced the damages from $2,500 to $300. Upon an appeal by Griffin, the appellate division of the Supreme Court sustained the order reducing the damages. The following is a part of the opinion of Judge Drugo of the Supreme Court whose order was sustained: "You cannot say that he [Griffin] is just the same as a white man, when you come to say how much his name will suffer. He might suffer more. But, after all, what are the probabilities about it? Is it likely that when a colored man is arrested and imprisoned he feels just as much shame as a white man of any circumstance might?"[1]

[1] Gilbert Thomas Stephenson, Race Distinctions in American Law. D. Appleton & Co., 1910, p. 276.

61. Here is a recent conversation in a southern city following an accident when a colored boy driving an automobile injured another colored boy. A colored man went to the police station to see if he could get the driver out on bail. The officer in charge at the station said, "No, indeed. We couldn't possibly let anybody out on bond under these circumstances. We don't know yet whether the injured party will live or not." Then the officer asked this question, "Was it a white boy or a colored boy that this driver hurt?" The answer was that it was a colored boy. Then he said, "Oh, yes, you can get him out; $100 bond will be all right." The offending chauffeur was duly let out on bond.

62. In a large southern city, some colored men had bought a number of building lots at public auction. A certain section of public opinion was outraged and persuaded the owner not to have the lots delivered. The auctioneer informed the buyers that the owner refused delivery of the lots. Thereupon they went to one of the best-known lawyers in the city, a man whose father and grandfather had practiced law there before him. He said, "You have not got a good case, since you have nothing in writing. But if you had the best possible case, I would not take it for ten thousand dollars. For, if I took it, I should for ten years to come lose every case that came before a jury of poor whites. They would hold against me that I have 'helped those niggers to get those lots.'"

What elements have these four incidents in common? Is it an accepted American theory that the life and happiness of a colored person is worth less—in so far as financial compensation comes into question—than those of a white person? Is there a similar theory concerning the life and happiness of immigrants? Is the scale of values for members of different races the same in different parts of the country? Can there be an absolutely impartial administration of justice? Does the sense of being discriminated against by the law have an important influence on race attitudes? Does it increase criminality?

Compare the ways in which the outcome of the court cases in these examples affected the Negroes and foreign-born concerned in them. What opinions of American law, American

citizenship and of their native white fellow citizens were produced in them? [*See also example No.* 158.]

Is it possible for immigrants to sit on juries? For Negroes?[1] *Does jury service of members of their race ensure justice for all? Under what circumstances would it further embitter public opinion against a racial group in the community? Are all races competent to do jury service?*

In the Execution of Law

Distinct from the category of inequality before the law so far considered is that in which an impartial administration of the law is frustrated not by the interpreters—the courts—but by those who execute the law. A few examples will illustrate the difference:

63. Dean Pound and other lawyers secured and published a number of affidavits, which they evidently considered authentic, testifying to the brutal methods of the government agents. To cite for instance: Mitchel Layrowsky, a teacher of mathematics, swore to the following:

> I am fifty years old. I am married and have two children. I was principal of the Iglitsky High School for fifteen years in Odessa, Russia. I declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States. On November 7, 1919, I conducted a class at 137 East 15th Street, New York. At about eight o'clock in the evening, while I was teaching algebra and Russian, an agent of the Department of Justice opened the door of the school and walked in with a revolver in his hands and ordered everybody in the school to step aside. Then he ordered me to step toward him. I wore eyeglasses and the agent of the Department of Justice ordered me to take them off. Then he struck me on the head and simultaneously two others struck and beat me brutally. After I was without strength to stand up, I was thrown downstairs; and while I rolled down, other men beat me with pieces of wood, which I later found were obtained by breaking the banisters. I

[1] Certain southern counties have conceded the fairness of the demand of Negroes to sit on juries. See Weatherford, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

sustained a fracture of the head, left shoulder, and right side. Then I was ordered to wash myself and was taken to 13 Park Row, where I was examined and released about midnight.[1]

64. The newspapers recently reported an experiment in a new form of execution: the criminal sentenced to death is put into a tightly closed chamber, and then hydrocyanic acid gas is introduced into the chamber. It is claimed that this form of execution is more humane than others now practiced. The state of Nevada, in trying out this new method selected two victims for its experiment; but let an editorial in the New York Times continue the tale:

"It is hard to refrain from wishing that Nevada had not reached the determination to destroy her murderers by administering to them the most terrible of all known poisons. That their physical sufferings will be over almost instantaneously hardly balances the peculiar horror that a man must feel as he meditates for days or weeks on such an ending of his life. And it is not pleasant to note that the white man who had been condemned thus to die had his sentence commuted at almost the last moment and *the new method was tested on a Chinaman.* That will need a good deal of explaining."

65. State's Attorney Hoyne said before the Commission: "There is no doubt that a great many police officers were grossly unfair in making arrests. They shut their eyes to offenses committed by white men while they were very vigorous in getting all the colored men they could get. . . . I don't know of a single case where the police have apprehended any man who has blown up a house."

. . . The trial of the three Negro policemen before the Merit Committee of the Police Department because they refused to use the "Jim Crow" sleeping-quarters in a police station doubtless added to race feeling, particularly in view of the publicity it received in the "Black Belt."

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[1] Report on the Illegal Practices of the U. S. Department of Justice, quoted in Jerome Davis, The Russian Immigrant. Macmillan Co., 1922, p. 167.

Negro distrust of the police increased during the period of the riot. With each clash a new cause for suspicion seemed to spring up. The most striking instance occurred on the first afternoon when Policeman Callahan refused to arrest the white man whom the Negro crowd accused of causing the drowning of Williams, the Negro boy. This refusal has been called the beginning of the riot because it led to mob violence of grave consequences.[1]

66. In 1922, the Police Department and the City Council of —— were much upset by an investigation following the death of Antonio Villari, an Italian who had been imprisoned on the charge of murder. The widow of the man came to the writer and told her story which was afterward corroborated.

It seems that Villari, after his arrest, had been thrown into a cell, and during the night four policemen, two of whom were the ones who had arrested him, came to his cell and put him through a sort of third degree, trying to make him admit that he had killed the man of whose murder he was accused. Although he denied that he was guilty of this crime and said he was afraid to give the name of the guilty person, as his life would be in danger, the policemen, not satisfied with this statement, took a fire hose and each one took turns at beating the man trying to make him admit the crime. The next morning the man told his wife that he had been beaten *"like a porco"* and told her to feel the welts on his body.

The next night the same thing occurred, and on the following morning Villari's body was found hanging in his cell. The warden claimed he had committed suicide by hanging himself with his shirt. The Public Health Commissioner, when examining the body, said the man had not died from strangulation but from the blows received, and later at a private hearing testified that there was not one spot on the man's body that was not bruised and horribly mutilated by the beatings which he had received. There was no redress, however, and the case was hushed up. The woman and her child were taken care of by private charity for a while; she was

[1] The Negro in Chicago. Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. University of Chicago Press, 1922, p. 34, where many more details of a similar nature will be found.

in destitute circumstances, her health ruined, and with no means of providing for herself and child.

Why did the Nevada court single out a Chinese criminal for its experiment in a new method of inflicting the death penalty? Would an Englishman have done just as well?

Are changes in the public attitude toward foreign races reflected in the attitude of the officers of the law? Is the attitude of the police toward Negroes in Chicago, described in example No. 58, typical for American communities? What brought it about? Had the case of Villari anything to do with race feeling? Would the Italians in the city think it had?

Are you sure that the courts and the police force in your community are absolutely impartial in the administration of justice as between races? How do you know? Would any injustice be likely to come to the ears of the public? Would it create a public protest? Is it any one's business to watch these things on behalf of justice-loving citizens?

Citizenship

We have so far in this chapter considered the less favored races and nationalities only in their relation to the administration of justice. This, indeed, is the best criterion we have for gauging the impartiality of our civic institutons in dealing with different constituents of the population. But other civic relationships must not be overlooked.

When it comes to illustrating problems arising from the relation of the colored people and of immigrants to our electoral system, we are to some extent in the position of the cub reporter who, sent to describe a wedding, returned and reported that there was no "story"—that the bridegroom had not turned up. Persons of foreign descent are, of course, not discriminated against when they desire to vote—except on occasion when their political creed is more radical than that of the predominant parties. Recent examples of this will be recalled and would take too long to tell in this con-

nection. As regards the Oriental, the Negro, and the American Indian in relation to the franchise, likewise, no illustrative incidents can give a true conception of the situations or problems involved. The struggles for and against the participation of these races in our political life are both historical and, in many states, in the forefront of current political controversies.[1] A few examples may illustrate the minor handicaps which often obtain where members of the colored races are admitted to the franchise:

67. Two colored men presented themselves as candidates for the Republican nomination for representative in the state legislature of a middle western state. In the primary they made a good run and defeated several white candidates, becoming, with two white men, the candidates offered by the Republican party in the November election. Before the election considerable quiet campaigning against them was done. Little was said of their personal qualifications, much was made of their race. In the election they ran a long way behind their ticket. The two white Republicans were elected; these colored candidates were badly beaten.

68. The registration booths were open, writes a southern white woman, and in the line stood a quiet, intelligent Negro woman who, I happened to know, was a teacher in the schools

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[1] As regards the Negro, see especially Gilbert T. Stephenson, *op. cit.;* W. D. Weatherford, *op. cit.;* Benjamin Brawley, A Social History of the American Negro. Macmillan Co., 1921.

For the Oriental in American political life see Sidney L. Gulick, American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship (Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1918) and the author's more recent publications through the International Commission on Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches; T. Iyenaga and Kenoske Sato, Japan and the California Problem (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921); Mary Roberts Coolidge, Chinese Immigration (Henry Holt & Co., 1909).

Concerning the American Indian's part in the government of his country read Helen Hunt Jackson, A Century of Dishonor (Little, Brown & Co., Boston); the reports of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the U. S. Department of the Interior; and the publications of the Indian Rights Association, 995 Drexel Bldg., Philadelphia, and of the American Indian Defense Association, 33 W. 42nd Street, New York City.

of one of the great industrial companies here. I watched to see what the registrar would do, for I was sure he would not let her register.

When she came to the polls he asked about the Constitution of the United States. Her replies were fine until he said, "What is the fourth line in the third paragraph?" She stopped a moment as if repeating it to herself. At once he said, "Step out of line and come back when you can meet the requirements."

Again and again we see this done. The Negro simply has no chance at the polls, and the number who vote in this big county is, I believe, about 12,000 or less. Why do they not rebel against it? Simply because of the old feeling that they would not stand a chance. They would not either, for this state is determined to keep its electorate white.

69. In a suburb of New York it occurred to a political office seeker that the "colored vote" had not been sufficiently cultivated, especially among the newer residents. When it came near election time, he called upon a member of the Negro colony who had been pointed out to him as the most influential. This man and his wife, to show their neighborly goodwill, at once agreed to call a meeting at their house. The meeting, when held, was followed by a chicken supper in which the visiting white politicians participated.

It was both courtesy and political diplomacy on their part to have their hostess appointed one of the watchers at the polls on election day. When the colored woman presented herself at the school where the voting took place, she found several white women in attendance as watchers who were sitting along one side of a long table and chatting to the electors. One of them put a chair close to the door, at the other end of the large room, for the colored woman, gave her a list and pencil and asked her to check off the colored voters only, as they took care of the white ones. None of them exchanged a word with her all day.

The contributor of example No. 67 adds: "Large numbers of colored Republicans lost faith in the sincerity of their party. Many resented keenly the thought that they were used simply as cat's paws by the party leaders." Were the actions

narrated in the other examples any more happy in securing the party loyalty of Negroes? Is the result of such handicaps more likely to discourage participation in politics or to change the party allegiance of those affected? What, if any, is the connection between political inequality and other forms of inequality?

Let one member of the group briefly report on the present status of Negro, Oriental and American Indian in regard to the franchise. (See references on p. 61.) Does this situation greatly affect the relations between racial groups in states and communities where some vote and others don't? Does the enjoyment of the franchise secure for these racial groups the respect of their white fellow-citizens?

Are any groups in your own community disfranchised because of race? Do they feel bitter about it? Are the groups debarred from voting the least respected in the community? Are immigrants who are not yet naturalized in the same position as the disfranchised groups? Are any groups in your community illegally debarred from political activity? If so, why?

Are all racial groups equally capable of exercising the franchise in the public interest? Is their conception of the voting privilege influenced by their separate group experiences?[1] *Are immigrants less intelligent voters than native-born citizens? Less public-spirited?*

National Defense

Curious as it may seem at first, differences in treatment on racial grounds as regards army service take the form of discouragement under some circumstances and compulsion, sometimes with violence of the law, under others. Both have

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[1] A woman who had been in this country thirty-five years remarked indignantly: "Oh, he's a voter all right (meaning her husband)—eighteen years, and never did he get anything for it. I used to get mad at him when he had no work, and I says to him, 'Why don't you go to them politicians? You vote for 'em. They ought to get you a job.' That's what other people do, but he's never gotten a cent from his vote." [Louise C. Odencrantz, Italian Women in Industry. Russell Sage Foundation, 1919, p. 167.]

their historical precedents and reasoned justifications. In the matter of discouragement we have to distinguish between the policy of exempting certain racial groups from active service, or making it difficult for them, on the ground that to arm and discipline them may have dangerous consequences to the safety of the state. This attitude toward the Negro was widely expressed during the late war. Different is the policy of preventing members of a despised or oppressed race from rising to the commissioned ranks even though they may be conscripted.[1]

More than one account has been published of what happened when, in 1917, several hundred Negroes were denied enrollment at a training camp for officers in Iowa and distributed to other camps.[2] But never has the story been told from the inside with a more convincing exposition of circumstances and motives than in the following letter from one of the men involved, now the executive of a social organization, a leader in interracial cooperation:

70. We had been in training for commissions at the Fourth Officers' Training Camp, Fort Dodge, Iowa, for about a month, when word was whispered about that the camp was to be discontinued and the candidates transferred to Camp Pike, Arkansas, for infantry training or to Camp Gordon, Georgia, for machine gun work. You may imagine our feelings. Most of the men were northerners by birth, and the thought of going into the southland held no charms for them. The few southerners were for the most part students in northern universities at the time of their enlistment and, having tasted of the freedom of northern city life, were reluctant to return south of the Mason-Dixon line. When the rumor was con-

[1] This was the accepted policy of several German states toward Jews prior to the war and still is the policy in certain eastern European countries; while in other countries, where no such policy is acknowledged, it nevertheless enters in practice into the commission and promotion of army and navy officers.

[2] See, for instance, George E. Haynes, The Trend of the Races, p. 123.

firmed by orders and we found that we were actually to be transferred, heavy gloom replaced the spirit of happiness which had permeated our four companies. During the few days which elapsed before the day set for our leaving there was little singing and less laughter. Groups gathered here and there and discussed the possibility of unjust and unfair treatment. What would be the attitude of other units in the camp? What type of officers would be in command? How would the citizens react toward us? These and many other questions flooded our minds. Some of the southern fellows assured us that conditions wouldn't be half as bad as we anticipated while others warned us that they would be infinitely worse. We scarcely knew what to expect, but at best we looked forward to the most unpleasant experiences.

We had been given our choice between the two camps. College men who had had considerable work in mathematics were urged to go to the machine gun school. It was hard for most of us to decide which place sounded the worse and would prove the less desirable. My personal opinion is that in most cases the decision rested on the flip of a coin. As for me—well, Arkansas seemed about the worst place that a human being could go on this earth, but Georgia seemed even worse. I chose Arkansas.

Several days on the road. And not so bad either. After all, we were young and loved life. In spite of our plight which we regarded as little less than calamitous we had lots of fun. There was much banter. One chap especially kept us laughing with his caricatures of the fellows themselves, the southerners in whose midst we were going, the officers and everybody else. He assured us that we would all be lynched and burned within the week. I think some believed it.

At last we arrived. Night had fallen and there was a depressing stillness throughout the camp. Only the thud thud of our own marching feet could be heard. A nasty drizzle was falling and added to our general gloom. After much walking we were halted before one of the grim and bare barracks. The drizzle turned into a steady rain which in spite of raincoats drenched us to the skin. We wondered what was what and finally asked one of the officers if we

were to spend the night out of doors. He laughed bitterly. He was black, too, and there were nineteen others of our race. He told us that "there had been some mistake." When the camp officials received orders to prepare to receive candidates for commissions and twenty officers they assumed that they were white. What to do with these black fellows was a problem. Of course, black officers couldn't possibly live in "Officers' Row," and certainly a barracks must be found for the black candidates which would at least be on the edge of the camp. After much delay, two barracks were emptied of white soldiers and we were assigned to them. I think we rejoiced a bit that the white soldiers were put to the inconvenience of moving at midnight. Don't blame us!

The next morning we arose and put our new house in shape. The sun was shining and our spirits had risen. After all, a good breakfast and the sunshine are good antidotes to gloom. Captain G. strode in. Every man stood at attention. He was as handsome in figure and features as any white man I've ever seen. Tall—broad of shoulder—straight as an arrow—every inch a soldier. He looked us over. Not a muscle moved. Not an eyelash fluttered. And then he spoke. We could detect suppressed emotion. "This thing has been forced on me," he said, "I never thought I'd be assigned to train a gang of niggers. Well," grimly, "you'll work like hell, and if any of you get a commission it'll be in spite of me." He said some more but I didn't hear him. Every bit of true American manhood rose in rebellion in my breast and I was blinded with passion. My brain cleared. I looked about. He had gone, but not a figure moved. We seemed rooted to the floor. Strong men clenched their fists and bit their lips. And then confusion broke. Every one talked at once. There were curses—threats. Finally a big chap from the regular army leaped upon a table and got a semblance of order. "Let's thrash this thing out," he said. Realizing that to hold a meeting without the presence of an officer could be regarded as mutiny and wanting to play fair, we called in one of the colored officers. He stood silently near the door.

Some were for deliberately leaving the camp in a body. That meant defiance of authority and perhaps the federal

penitentiary, but who cared! Some suggested that a good whipping would do Captain G. a world of good. "Let's write to Emmett Scott (Secretary of Tuskegee Institute, who, in the midst of the various troubles incident to the enlistment and training of Negroes, had been appointed confidential adviser to the War Department) or the Secretary of War himself," some cried. All sorts of drastic measures were suggested, and bedlam was breaking out anew when a quiet little fellow, scarcely over five feet, gained attention and spoke. "Listen, fellows, we are men and soldiers. We are loyal Americans. We are Negroes. Our honor is at stake. We represent the best that our race affords. The eyes of America are upon us. Let's play square-soldier for the man and trust in God." That was all. No display of oratory. Just a simple quiet message. But it worked. Resentment left us. Hate was replaced by love. We silently agreed "to soldier for the man and trust in God."

And we did "work like hell." No group of soldiers in any camp suffered more than we. When we hiked it was twice the distance and at double the pace of other units. Our guns were never clean enough. We stood at attention for two hours on inspection. At the slightest provocation Captain G. abused and cursed us. My, how that man could curse! He tried deliberately to break us, body and soul, but we stood it like men and "soldiered."

Toward the end he seemed to relent a bit. Our task grew lighter. Final examinations came, and we carried off many honors. Over fifty-five per cent of our company received commissions, and that was not a bad percentage. We were the most fit physically in the camp—hard, intensive training had made us that.

The colored citizens of L. R. were proud of us and gave a "graduation dance." Captain G. was there and when called upon to speak told us a most amazing story which explained much.

"When I was a lad," he said, "my father, who was sheriff of S. county in Oklahoma, was killed in a fight with Negro bandits. On his death bed, he made my older brother and me swear before God that we would avenge his death by

hating all Negroes and taking advantage of every opportunity to do them an injury. I grew up hating all Negroes, placing them all in the same category and determined to carry out my father's death-bed wishes. I became a ranger and was the terror of Negroes with whom I came in contact. I hated them bitterly. When I found that I was assigned to train colored men for commissions I felt insulted and my hatred increased. Then I saw my chance to avenge my father by making these men under my command suffer. I deliberately set out to wreck them physically and break their souls. I had no idea that they could stand the pace which I set, and that any would earn commissions was not given consideration by me. But they stood the test. They beat me at my own game and laughed as they did it. I learned first to admire them, then to love them. I realized for the first time that the souls of black men were as noble as the souls of white men. I'm proud of Company — and I love every man in it and I love all black folk. I'm your friend until I die."

That is all. We were stunned at the revelation and crowded around him to shake his hand. There were tears in his eyes and in ours, also, for in spite of it all we, too, had learned to admire and love *him!*

Public Service

As for handicaps suffered by Negroes and persons of foreign birth in appointments to public office, distinction must be made between appointments that are within the power of public bodies or officers and those which are expected to be made under civil service rules without regard to any qualifications other than those of competency.[1] Almost every important federal appointment of Negroes in recent years, falling into the first class of cases, has been the subject of heated controversy. Confirmation of the Negro Collector of Customs at New Orleans and the hospital appointments of the Treas-

[1] For a discussion of discrimination against aliens in employment at public works see William M. Leiserson, *op. cit.*, p. 251 *et seq.*

ury for Tuskegee are cases in point. Of race discriminations in the civil service the following illustrations give a picture:

71. About three years ago, the post office of a California city, according to its custom, had advertised that the Civil Service examinations for employees in the office would be held at a certain time. Two colored girls passed with the highest marks for the particular positions that were vacant. They were called into the office and told by the postmaster, with expressions of his profound regret, that they must step aside and allow white women to take the positions although they had every right to them. He told them that if they insisted on their right, every one would leave the employment of the post office; and that he could not have the whole of his office personnel disorganized by injecting colored girls into their midst. He admitted that there were a number of colored mail carriers in the city, but argued that the case was different. He put it up to the girls to say how, in view of the situation, he could possibly act differently.

Is race a valid consideration in judging of the competency of a person for public office? Was the California postmaster right in assuming that the appointment of colored girls would disorganize the office force? What is the difference he had in mind between office workers and mail carriers?

72. W. A., an educated and gentlemanly colored man, returned from serving in France "to help make the world safe for democracy," to his home in a northern state. He took a civil service examination for a position in the customs service and was notified by mail that he stood first on the list of candidates, with a grade of 98.5 per cent. When he went to the office to see about his appointment, the woman in charge was dumfounded to discover that he was a colored man. "I didn't suppose that would make any difference," said Mr. A. "In this case it does," said the woman. "The position puts one in charge of ten white women."

The position was given to a white man who rated 75 per cent on the examination.

Was it possible, in the circumstances related in this example, strictly to follow civil service rules even if this would have put a Negro man in authority over white girls? What would be the probable result of such an action?

73. A controversy arose, some time in 1921, in a Pennsylvania city when the park director refused to obey an instruction of the council to discharge employees of foreign birth so that their jobs might be given to American-born taxpayers. He was upheld in that refusal by many leading citizens, including the director of the local Bureau of Americanization, who said: "Those who seek to divide our residents into jealous camps are enemies of true Americanism. Only the refining fire of intelligent patriotic influences can fuse the polyglot elements of our population into true, comprehending and, hence, loyal American citizens." He also referred to a demand that the foreign-language newspapers of the city be excluded from the award of city advertising. Both the Polish and the German papers, he said, had responded to every call made to them by city, state and nation.[1]

Why do many citizens object to the appointment of those of foreign birth—even though naturalized—to public services? Does such an attitude also exist in the face of appointment of persons from other states? From other counties in the same state? Is there any relation between such opposition and that to the giving out of advertising contracts to foreign-language newspapers? To newspapers published in other cities? What conception of public service and public business underlies such attitudes?

74. A colored girl in a large eastern city graduated from high school and passed her examination for library work. The head librarian, pleased with her credentials, invited her to an interview prior to employment in the city's public library system, but when he discovered that she was colored, refused to employ her—this in spite of the fact that the city was already employing one colored librarian who gave com-

[1] The Survey for July 16, 1921.

plete satisfaction and that he admitted that the girl was capable of filling the vacant post.[1]

Later this girl tried the telephone company. The employment manager here told her that they would not under any circumstances employ a colored girl even if she came, as this girl evidently did, from a cultured home. Then she added: "Why don't you go into domestic service?" Inquiry at the telephone company's office by a white outsider confirmed the existence of this rule. He was told that the company was looking after the girls in its employment in such exceptional ways that they were absolutely safe, and that this was not possible without a policy of selection. Practically all the girls are from native American homes; and this fact, together with a good deal of snobbery in other forms, has been the company's principal means for years of attracting a labor supply from homes whose daughters usually engage in less mechanical and better paid employments.

The girl then took a civil service examination and was employed in the county clerk's office. Though this public officer and others are not supposed to have any option in the matter, it is currently believed that the admission of a certain proportion of colored employees under civil service rules in the city in question is not unconnected with the increasing volume of the Negro vote and political influence.

How do you explain the difference in the attitude of the librarian and that of the county clerk to the appointment of a colored girl? Compare your answer with the suggestion made in the last sentence by the writer of the story.

75. A certain city in the Middle West is known for the bitterness with which the old antagonism between Poles and Jews

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[1] Compare this incident with the following quotation from a paper read by Ernestine Ross before the American Library Association in 1923:

That incident in New York which seems to me the most significant is the acceptance by our Library School of a colored applicant on precisely the same terms as the white. . . .

Another short step towards racial adjustment in the library when two branches made an exchange in assistants, a Negro worker going to a large library in a thickly populated white neighborhood and one of the white workers coming in exchange to the branch library which serves New York's greatest colored population.

finds occasional expression. The Board of Health officer who is a Pole has been charged in the press with giving any Polish woman who applies for it a license to practice midwifery, provided she can pay the fee, whether she is qualified by training or not. A Jewish woman who had resided in the city for years and was known as a person of fine qualities went to Chicago to study midwifery and returned to practice. She took the examination in another city of the state and was issued her license within twenty-four hours. But as she was going to practice in her home city, she applied for a license to the health officer already mentioned, passed the examination but was kept waiting for her license seven weeks.

Several requests were made by her and on her behalf to have him issue the license; but he found ever new reasons for delay. Although he knew that the woman had been a resident of the city for many years, he told her some one would have to certify that she had lived there for a certain number of years. A social worker and a physician testified that they had known her as a resident for four years. She was then told she needed one more witness. She secured him and was then told a fourth was needed whom she also secured. When the four certificates were presented, the health officer asked for the woman's citizenship papers and thus was able to prolong the delay still further. This officer is known for his political activity; he is a member of an organization of Poles which makes it its special object to boycott Jews in business.

76. In the Public Welfare Department of the city of F. it is customary when visitors are on vacation or leave of absence to replace them temporarily by one of their colleagues who for the time becomes responsible for their section. As an experiment, the supervisor appointed a colored girl who had been very intelligent in handling the cases arising in the Negro section of the city to take the place of the Polish visitor when she was absent because of illness.

At first, when in her Ford car she drove up at some house in the Polish district, people stood around and gaped at her. She soon made friends with the aid of a Polish interpreter, and before long many people became friendly toward her. To what extent this attitude was influenced by the supposed power of the visitor to bestow benefits cannot, of course, be traced.

However, she was received with equal courtesy when visiting employers, landlords, relatives and others in the interest of her cases. After a while, poor people who had seen her go around spoke to her on the street and took it for granted that she would be interested in their troubles, seemingly unconscious of their difference in color.

Though difficulties had been anticipated, these did not materialize. After a week, the strangeness of the colored woman's appearance in the district wore off. One thing which amused her—because at that time the papers were full of the protest made in New York against a scene in a play by O'Neill in which a white woman kisses the hand of a colored man, leading to the temporary abandonment of the production—was the fact that frequently the older Polish men, according to the custom of their old country, would kiss her hand in token of their gratitude.

Was the temporary appointment of a colored official to duty in a white district a daring experiment? Is such a thing possible in every community? What would have been said if, for any reason, the visitor had failed or been less effective than her predecessor?

Let us now recapitulate our major findings:

Is the American system of government based upon the principle of absolute equality as between different races? What is your authority? Would a complete practical application of such a principle be possible? What, if it is not, might make it possible?

Is equality before the law, as is sometimes claimed, an actual achievement in America? If not, what stands in its way? Are the examples given above of seemingly unequal treatment before the law representative of the administration of justice throughout the country?

Compare the attitudes of the public officials described in this chapter. Are they influenced by attitudes to race? Are their attitudes typical of American public opinion? Have they been the same at all times? If not, what has brought

them into being? Are they likely to change? If so, what is likely to change them?

Is "trial by newspaper" a reality in America? If so, is it always in favor of the dominant racial group? What part do ignorance, misunderstandings, "feelings" with regard to the appearance, customs, habits and ideals of other racial groups play in the influences exerted by public opinion on courts and public officials?

Is it an accepted tradition or ruling that courts and public officials should know something about the racial groups with which they deal?

Are some racial groups more likely than others to commit certain types of crime? If so, why? Do differences in the attitude of different racial groups toward society render an equal administration of justice impossible? Would an equal fine or an equal term of imprisonment mean equal punishment; i. e., is the suffering inflicted the same for members of groups with varying degrees of social responsibility?

Is the desire to take part in the public life by voting a selfish one? Would it be unsafe for this country to entrust more of the power of government, and especially of the national defense, to racial groups that have had no share in establishing its national ideals?

Can a colored librarian in a white neighborhood be expected to give as good service as a white? Is the efficiency of a public officer independent of the popular attitude toward his race? Would your efficiency be as great if you were working as a public officer with a group different in race, customs and ideals as it would be if you worked with people whose ways are familiar to you?

CHAPTER IV

Economic Handicaps

See note on top of page 1

In certain circles, and not only among Marxian socialists, it has become customary to attribute all race friction to economic motives. The world is visualized as a seething caldron of competing groups, throwing up first this, then that race to dominate, then to disappear again as a more virile stock possesses itself of wealth and power. Within that larger strife they visualize multitudes of smaller rivalries—each enmity born out of a struggle for bread; each taboo against foreigners acquired by the habit of economic self-defense; each oppression of a minority group or a weaker race motivated by a desire for gain. Those who have followed the discussion so far will hardly accept so simple and all-embracing an explanation for race antagonism. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to examine in some detail more especially that field of race discrimination in which economic motives are most likely to be found, namely, the vocational.

Political inequality and vocational inequality are often linked together. Where a racial group is disfranchised and does not enjoy the same protection of the law as other groups, the essential conditions for fairness in the economic dealings between the races do not exist. On the other hand, it need hardly be demonstrated that political equality does not necessarily ensure economic equality, nor even equal vocation opportunity.[1] We have already seen how even in public em-

[1] The Negro student of law, the university graduate, too often is free to vote in the same booth with the white man, but must seek employment as a Pullman porter. (Herbert J. Seligmann, The Negro Faces America. Harper & Brothers, 1920, p. 21.)

ployment and in public licensing for the exercise of occupations, where the public interest rather than economic competition is supposed to be the dominant motive, race differences affect policy and action.

Employment

Our first group of examples illustrates the obstacles faced by members of the less favored races in securing jobs adapted to their capacity.

77. A young man who had given four years of satisfactory service as an elevator tender in a New England city lost his job through a disagreement with his employer. He walked the streets for two weeks in search of steady employment, without success. Then he went to an officer of a church institution who knew him and asked for his help in finding a job.

A day or two later this gentleman found in the want column of one of the daily papers an advertisement for a teamster with the name and address of a well known local steam laundry. He immediately inquired whether the place was still open. On learning that the young man was connected with one of the city churches, that he was honest, reliable, industrious, temperate and physically strong, the manager on the telephone said: "Please send him in, we shall be glad to talk with him." "But suppose you find when you see him that he is a Negro?" "Oh, is that so? Well, I am sorry, but I fear we could not employ him." "Why not?" "Well, er—er—er—we couldn't put a colored man on our team, for our customers would kick and we should lose trade. I am sorry, but it would be useless for him to come in. Good-by."

Three days later, the same want column had an advertisement from a well-known grocery firm which enjoys a good share of Negro patronage, asking for a "man to drive grocery team and do porter's work about the store." The following conversation took place over the telephone: "Is this Mr. ——?" "Yep." "I notice that you advertise in this morning's paper for a man to drive your team and do porter's work about your store." "Yep." "Is the place still open?" "Yep." "I am the pastor of one of the city churches and

have in my parish a young man who wants work and who is prepared to fill the place satisfactorily, I think. I shall be glad to send him with a written testimonial." "We shall be glad to have you send him. Could he come this morning?" "He can and he will do so. It may not be necessary, but perhaps I ought to tell you before he comes that he is a Negro." "A Negro! Well, I'm sorry, but it would be useless for him to apply." "Why so?" "Well, personally I have no objections, but I fear it would injure my trade." "But he is polite and accommodating, and there is nothing in his personal appearance that could be the occasion of offense except it be the mere fact of his color. Will you not allow him to come and talk with him?" "I am sorry, but it would simply be a waste of his time. We could not employ him. Good-by, sir."

78. A young woman, a graduate of the commercial department of the high school in a large New England city, took an additional post-graduate course in shorthand and typewriting. She is a native of the city and a member of one of its most respected colored families. Shortly after her graduation, she applied, in response to an advertisement in a local paper, for office work with a large commercial corporation and received from one of the department heads a request to call in person as soon as possible. She was directed to a room where scores of young women were engaged in work similar to that for which she had applied. Her appearance in this room created evident surprise and excited a ripple of subdued laughter. The surprise of the young women was exceeded by that of their chief when she learned that this Negro girl was the one whom she had invited for a conference regarding work. But in spite of that invitation the caller was told that the place had been filled.

Two months later, there appeared in a local paper an advertisement by the same company for a woman to do clerical work, but this time in another department. Again the colored girl wrote her application and mailed it at once to the head of the department. On this occasion she gave her residence telephone number as well as the street address. On the following day she had a telephone message from the department head who, after asking a few questions, requested her to call and see him next morning.

At the designated hour she appeared at his desk. After questioning her as to her fitness, he found himself unable to give a decisive answer, but assured her that he would give her application serious consideration shortly. While the decision was pending, it occurred to the young woman that a good word spoken in her behalf by some one whose influence might have weight would not be amiss at this juncture. She accordingly sought and secured the intercession of two such persons. One of these went so far as to lay her case before the vice-president of the company, who is reputed to be a man of generous impulses and a firm believer in "a square deal." Having listened attentively to the facts, this official promised to investigate the matter and see what could be done. He did so, and within a week the intercessor received from him a letter in which he said: "I have talked with Mr. —— in regard to the employment of the young woman you spoke to me about and find that while his sympathy is in favor of doing so, yet on conferring with his employees, he is convinced that the exigencies of the service will not allow him to act as he really wishes to act. We all regret the circumstances very much." And with this the incident closed.

Her next experience was with a publishing house whose advertisement in a local paper she answered after the manner already described. The manager of the firm replied, asking her to call the following morning. When the applicant went to the house and, following directions, ascended the long stairway to a room above, she again found herself in the presence of scores of young women of the more favored race, and with exactly the same humiliating experience as before. But on this occasion her feelings suffered even more, for among the young women who ridiculed her presumption were those who had been her classmates in the high school. In the business manager of this company, who soon faced her, she met with an honesty which had been sadly lacking in all the others to whom she had applied. He frankly told her that he could not consider her application on account of her color.

Not quite hopeless, but thoroughly discouraged, she now abandoned the search for clerical work—the kind for which she had spent four years in special preparation—and rather than accept the alternative of leaving home, decided to see what the chances were in other lines of employment outside of

domestic service. She then applied for work in a large department store where her name was filed away for future reference; in a confectionery manufactory in the office window of which was the conspicuous placard, "Girls Wanted," but where she was told that only girls experienced in the manufacture of candy could be employed; and then in a dozen other places where help was "wanted"—in each and every instance to be turned away.

Similar handicaps are also suffered by foreign-born wage-earners:

79. The following evidence of the feeling of many foreign-born that they are discriminated against in the assignment of jobs comes from the investigators' notebooks in the Interchurch World Movement inquiry into the steel strike of 1919:

M. U., a Czech, feels that he is discriminated against because he is a hunky. Several times when he has asked for promotion he has been told that the good jobs are not for hunkies. He feels that the clean, decent jobs are for Americans only. This man had been in this country eight years and was married, but "never could find time to take out citizenship papers since he would have to go on a week day to Pittsburgh, which would mean that he would have to pay the wages of his two witnesses and lose his own." While he was out on strike he would have taken out papers, but he understood from the newspapers that the strikers were not granted citizenship.

A. T., a Czech, worked during the war as a millwright but had been demoted since and feels that he is discriminated against because he is a hunky.

P. Y., a Lithuanian, six years a citizen, declares that while wages are insufficient, his chief grievance is discrimination and contempt. The foreigners are given the dirtiest and hardest jobs and are lorded over by the skilled American workers. He is always told to wait by the foreman when he asks for a better job, although his hands are maimed because of the hard work which he must do. In the meantime young Americans who have worked in the mills only a short time are promoted over him to the better jobs.

W. S., Russian-Pole, although he was in the army, feels that he is now being discriminated against and is very bitter about it. He says that the Americans call him a "foreigner."

He was unable to get his old work back when he came out of the Army, but finally after getting to the superintendent with his complaint he did receive back his old place.

K., a Pole, says that the foreigners get the hardest and most unpleasant jobs and are always discriminated against. It makes no difference about the foreigner's ability or whether he speaks English; he is looked down upon and considered fit only for jobs Americans won't take. Says he has a younger brother, born in this country, who had a knack for learning and was sent to the high school up on the hill in the American section. But the other children would not play with him because he was a hunky. Now he is at work in the mills.[1]

80. Not long ago a young Mexican of good family, accompanied by a social worker, went to an employment office in San Francisco to seek work. The man in charge of the bureau inquired as to the applicant's nationality and on learning that he was a Mexican replied that there was no work to be had.

Later on, the Mexican youth, still in great need of work, returned to the same office to fill an application form. When asked for his nationality he said that he was Spanish from Argentina, whereupon his application was duly entered without the slightest objection.

81. In a city with many thousand Poles and Germans, a high-grade place of entertainment advertised for girl ushers. A Polish girl, graduate of a high school and of attractive appearance, applied in person. "What is your name?" the manager asked. "Maria Wasilewska," she answered. The manager, a German Jew, when he heard her name, remarked, "We do not employ Poles."

Three months later, the same concern again advertised for ushers. Maria again called to apply for this position, but this time gave her name as Mary Brown and was employed at once. In a short time she became overseer with the privilege of herself employing girls. One day she betrayed her nationality. The manager was surprised. But since she, with other Polish girls she had engaged, was fulfilling her function to the complete satisfaction of the employer and of the audi-

[1] Report on the Steel Strike of 1919. Commission of Inquiry, Interchurch World Movement. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1920, p. 138.

ence, the matter was not further discussed; and one more citizen had been weaned from a race prejudice traditional with his own people.

Why are Negroes often permitted to work on certain processes and not on others? Do you know of plants where whites and Negroes work on the same jobs—or jobs requiring the same degree of skill? Are Czechs in the same class with Negroes in the general opinion of industrial employers? Why did immigrants find themselves discriminated against in the steel industry in the matter of promotions?[1] *Why did the San Francisco employment office discriminate against Mexicans but not against South Americans? Why did the theater manager not want a Polish usher in his employment?*

Consider this evidence:

In St. Louis a manager told me, "Give us Greeks every time"; but in Moline another said: "No Greek can get work in this plant." There are two plants in a city in Ohio, the one making rubber goods and the other cloth. In the former, Italians largely make up the labor force; in the latter not an Italian is to be found. The manager of the rubber works said: "The Italians are good workers." The one in the cloth works said: "No Italians for me—I can't trust them and won't have them."[2]

Were all these employers and employment officers acting from personal experience with the different races and nationalities? Were the motives of their policies those of economic self-interest pure and simple? Would the employers in your community agree as to which races are desirable as employees and which are not? What difference, if any, is there in the attitudes of private and those of public employers? [*See examples Nos. 71-76.*]

Conditions of Work

Not only in work opportunities but also in the terms and conditions offered the workers of different races are there important variations.

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[1] Recent reports indicate that immigrants are promoted to responsible work in the steel industry to a much larger extent than five years ago. Can you offer a likely explanation?

[2] Peter Roberts, The New Immigration. Macmillan Co., 1912, p. 71.

82. The manager of a large lithographing establishment, that was greatly in need of labor, stated that the initial wage was $10 a week. But the colored girls who applied for positions there were offered $7. When the employer was questioned concerning the discrepancy in wages he stated that that was the wage paid to white girls and he really was not aware of the amount paid to colored girls, although in one department they were doing the same work. He said he was ready to assure any colored girl that her wages would be rapidly increased if she showed a willingness to stay. And yet one of his colored girls interviewed started at $7 a week and did not receive a raise until three months later, and then she had to ask for it; another worked five months before her wage was increased to $9. A white girl who started at $10 was given a raise of $1 after two weeks.

Colored girls had worked for months as assistants to the pressfeeders, but when a vacancy came as pressfeeder, a white girl who had been there only a few weeks was given the job. The employer apparently did not realize that there might be any connection between this and the exceedingly high turnover among his colored labor, and the continual friction between the white and colored in his shop.[1]

83. I asked a leading physician friend in whose home I was staying where the maid in his house lived. He said she had a nice room over the garage. When asked where his chauffeur lived he said he also had a room over the garage. One stairway led to these two rooms, where an unmarried girl and an unmarried man lived side by side. The doctor admitted he would not allow a white girl to live under similar conditions, but said it had never occurred to him that there was anything wrong about it for the colored girl.[2]

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[1] Colored Women as Industrial Workers in Philadelphia. Consumers' League, Eastern Pennsylvania, 1920, p. 39.

For information concerning differentiation of wages paid white and colored workers see W. D. Weatherford, *op. cit.*, p. 248, and George E. Haynes, The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction. U. S. Department of Labor, 1920. For the most recent findings as regards women workers see the bulletins of the U. S. Women's Bureau dealing with industrial workers in various states.

[2] W. D. Weatherford, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

Discrimination in working conditions also enters public employment under civil service rules, as illustrated by the following recent protest:

84. According to a resolution recently passed by the Organization of Teachers of Colored Children of the State of New Jersey, Negro teachers in the counties of Salem, Cape May, Cumberland, and Monmouth are in many cases receiving from $100 to $200 less annually than white teachers. This difference, it was claimed, was based on racial grounds only and not on consideration of the teacher's worth. The resolution voiced the opinion that this salary preference was breaking down the morale of the teaching force and attracted an inferior grade of teacher to the colored schools, thus denying the children in these schools equal educational opportunities.[1]

Are wages regulated by the "law of demand and supply?" Is there a separate labor market for white and colored, for native and foreign-born? How has it come about that Negro and immigrant workers are offered less favorable conditions of work than native or assimilated white workers? Why do they accept lower wages? Do foreign-born laborers not expect as much as white native workers? Can they live on less?

Are foremen and other bosses less considerate in the treatment of foreign-born workers? Would there be equal industrial opportunities for Negroes and for immigrants if they were regarded as equally competent?

Are there any industries in your community in which white and colored workers are employed on similar processes? Or natives and immigrants? Are the wages and working conditions the same? If they are different, can you discover the causes? How is the payment of differential wages to different races justified by the employers? By public opinion? What is the effect on standards of living? On the mutual respect of the racial groups concerned?

Are Negroes or immigrants in public employment in your community treated exactly like native whites? Does public opinion demand equal treatment for those employed upon equal work by the taxpayers?

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[1] New York Times for February 17, 1924.

Does any organization with which you are connected employ Negroes? Immigrants? Are the working conditions the same as those current for native white workers doing similar work?

Is it necessary for an individual employer to comply with current standards in these respects even when he considers them unfair? What is the nature of the pressure upon him?

In Business and the Professions

Somewhat different from the discriminations so far considered are those of which members of the professions and business men are the victims.

85. A colored doctor of medicine in New Orleans told me the case of a friend of his born in a town on the banks of the Mississippi. He left home for college, was graduated, and returned a qualified medical man. He opened practice in his native town, his clients being those of his own race, as custom would not allow him to treat white patients, although the white practitioners had no scruple in treating Negroes. He heard rumors of trouble which culminated in his receiving from the practicing medical men of the town notice to quit. He was given to understand he would leave the town without a stain on his character—they had nothing against him personally, but they would not have a Negro doctor in the place. He had no alternative but to go and seek to make a living elsewhere.

Another medical man practicing in a large town told me that he began his career in a country district and would have been glad to have remained there (it was his home); but it had been made clear to him that it was not safe for him to remain, and he abandoned his practice and came into the city.[1]

86. Not long ago, a colored man was graduated from a good engineering school. Just before commencement the school received a letter from a large corporation asking for five of their graduates and guaranteeing them positions at $3500 per annum and a chance for promotion if they made good. Among

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[1] Maurice S. Evans, Black and White in the Southern States. Longmans, Green & Co., 1915, p. 161.

the five men sent to them was the Negro. Following commencement they reported at the office of the corporation. The colored man was the first to be shown into the private office of the president, who looked at him for a minute without saying a word and then asked, "Are you Mr. Jones?" "Yes." "Well——er——just wait a few minutes."

The president left the room and after a while returned and said, "Come back in the morning and we will give you work. Good morning."

The next day Jones returned. The president was all apologies, but they had found that they had room for only four men. If they needed more they would let him know without fail, and so forth—the same old story. Jones never heard from the corporation again.

Was the employer on the face of it prejudiced against the employment of a Negro in a technical position? What considerations may have weighed with him?

87. A social agency of high standing employed a young man of education and culture who had immigrated from Russia only the year before. He had graduated from the University of Petrograd, spoke French, Russian, German and Polish fluently and considered himself a Polish citizen.

A year later he was advanced to the position of supervisor over the seven or eight field or case workers in the agency. He served well in this position which had been assigned to him purely on the ground of his particular qualifications, in which was included his personality as well as his knowledge and executive skill.

But his English accent was un-American, and some of the workers in other social agencies in the city were irritated by it. Some were jealous of the advancement of an immigrant to an executive position. The result was that complaints were received from the outside which interfered with the smooth cooperation of the various agencies which is a requisite of their highest efficiency. The young Pole held the position of supervisor for a year only.

Would the Pole have been more acceptable if he had spoken perfect English? Do you know any foreign-born in important executive positions? Do they suffer from any special brand of jealousy?

88. The dentists of an eastern state held a convention in a large city. A few days before the convention met, the colored dentists of the city received word from their professional brethren that they might attend the convention provided they used the fire escape at the rear of the building and sat in seats that would be reserved for them.

89. A young Jew, after graduation from a medical school, went to train in a hospital which had a reputation of being by tradition anti-semitic. Those around him, according to his account, banded together to make life miserable for him, and those in authority did nothing to help him or to change the situation. One day when he was out, some of the internes went to his room, stuffed the cracks and keyholes and lighted a sulphur candle, a symbol of their feeling that he was not clean enough to associate with them, and that he was undesirable. He was not permitted to attend any of the social functions, or ever invited to take part in any of the voluntary activities in the hospital. When the superintendent was asked why he allowed these conditions to prevail, he said he was powerless to improve them.

After some of the young interne's belongings had been taken away and he had been subjected to several insults, he had a lengthy discussion with the Board of Managers, who advised him to leave the hospital and go to a place where he could adjust himself better. But the references given him were so unsatisfactory that he failed to gain admission to any of the institutions where he applied. After several futile attempts, he gave up the idea and secured work as a salesman in a clothing shop. He no longer intends to finish his training because he feels that circumstances are absolutely against him.

Are the conditions here portrayed typical? Was the young interne especially sensitive? Is that characteristic of educated Jews? Were "circumstances absolutely against him?" Do you know of cases where similar circumstances have been overcome? By Jews? By Negroes? Compare your replies with the following suggestions of the reporter of this incident:

One who knows this man says that he is likely to get on well in his new field because he no longer has the ambition to practice medicine and is happy among people of his own race; that this man, always conscious of his Jewishness, probably

would have finished his training if he had started out at a Jewish hospital and thus would have made a larger contribution to society.

What attitudes lie behind the unwillingness to permit Negroes to exercise a profession? Behind the objections to foreign-born colleagues in the professions? Behind the difficulties put in the way of Negro business men? Are personal characteristics which they share with their race involved? Is there in the public mind an association of race with social status which prejudices attitudes in particular instances?

Have foreign-born teachers less influence with students? Foreign-born lawyers with courts? Foreign-born social workers with clients? Explain any differences you may have observed.

Have you any personal acquaintance with foreign-born professional people, such as teachers, doctors, social workers or ministers? Are they different to your mind from others—as a group? Is your attitude toward them different from that toward native professional people? If so, is it different also as between those of them who belong to different racial or national groups?

Are there any institutions or agencies in your community that have a reputation for being anti-semitic or prejudiced against some other race? What is the origin or explanation of such reputation? Its effect?

Conflicting Interests

We have so far considered occupational discriminations from the point of view of general attitudes and practices and the state of public opinion that may be involved. But as a matter of fact, a number of different, even conflicting interests are concerned in the treatment of colored or foreign-born workers in the industrial life of America. The employers' interests in the assignment of jobs to different groups and the working conditions offered them are not the same as those of organized labor; and the interests of the public, as expressed through labor legislation, may be in conflict with both of them.

Let us look at all three of these major divisions of interest in turn. First, as to labor policy in regard to race on the part of employers:

Employment Policies

90. While talking to the superintendent of a large ore dock on Lake Erie, I asked him: "How do you get along with the half dozen peoples of different tongues; do you keep them separate?" "No, sir," was his reply: "I mix them up. I get better results. Put six of the same people together, and you won't get the work out of them."

The superintendent of a rubber plant in Connecticut found that one of the departments of the mill had fallen into the hands of Italians; men of other nationalities were in the plant, but not one of them could enter that department. Trouble came which threatened to demoralize the whole plant, and before the management could break up the combination that caused the mischief, it was necessary to double the number of hands in the affected department and drive out the coterie.[1]

91. A certain Ohio city is said to have suffered a decided increase in race prejudice since the advent of the Ku Klux Klan. And it is alleged that the major industries of this city are taking advantage of this feeling to keep the workers divided. This has been found so effective that the method of segregation has been applied to processes upon which previously native American and foreign-born workers of several nationalities had been jointly engaged, with the result that organization of the workers, especially of the unskilled, has practically been wiped out.

In illustration of this condition which is general talk among the workers, one employed at the largest of these plants writes: "The foreman came and placed me at another job that was identical with the one at which I had been working. He made no explanation other than to say that he thought I would like this work better. After working for a while, my curiosity got the better of me and I inquired of the supervisor why I had been moved. He replied, 'We are going to keep the white men on this side of the shop and the hunkies on the other.' "

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[1] Peter Roberts, The New Immigration. Macmillan Co., 1912, p. 75.

92. In a certain clothing factory in New York the chief operator, who was a "Nordic" Protestant, tried his utmost to prevent the workers from joining the union. Most of them were girls, about one-half of them from Italian and one-half from Jewish homes. When the organizers of the union threatened to make headway among the girls, the chief operator quietly talked to some of the leaders among the Italians and said to them: "Surely you aren't going to let that anti-religious union dictate to you what you are going to do!" To the Jewish girls he said: "I am surprised that you don't see what is behind this movement. Don't you know that the A. F. of L., with which this union is affiliated, is an out-and-out Irish Catholic organization, run for the benefit of the Irish?" To which one of the girls quietly replied: "Really! I had no idea Sammy Gompers was an Irish Catholic." After which remark, and the giggles which followed it, the anti-unionist had to pursue other tactics.

93. The employment manager of a large engineering plant in the Middle West said to an interviewer:

"It is true, our war experience with Negro laborers has satisfied us that their employment in certain shops is very advantageous. Of course, we do not employ as many of them now as we did during the critical years of labor shortage; but still there are several hundred of them distributed over the plant.

"When we began to employ these colored men in considerable numbers, we followed the customary policy of segregating them so far as it was possible from the whites. It was not practicable at the time to construct separate dining halls and recreation rooms for them. So, to avoid any possible friction, we put up a wooden partition and divided the arrangements, so that the Negroes could be served on one side and the white workers on the other.

"You may imagine our surprise when on one of the first days some of the white fellows had pulled down the partition and were sitting down indiscriminately with the colored men at the same tables. With the division, the service was not as good as it had been, and somehow the white men had got it into their heads that the Negroes were given preference. They

were more desirous of quick service than of keeping themselves apart."

Is there a consistent labor policy on the part of employers toward Negroes? Toward foreign-born? [*See also examples Nos. 74, 77, 78, 81.*] *What are the major charges that have been brought against employers? To what extent are they borne out by these examples?*

Are employers influenced in their policy by what they think the attitude of their employees is likely to be to those of another race? Are they always or usually correct in their assumptions? Is the position in this matter of the foremen the same as that of the firm itself? Before replying to the last question, consider the following two instances:

94. The superintendent of a tannery with 175 Negroes out of a total of 600 employees notified his foremen that he intended to use Negro labor, and that any foreman who felt that he could not teach colored workers would have to yield his place to some one who could. Frequent lectures to foremen were necessary to make them realize that fairness to Negro labor meant tolerance of a beginner's awkwardness and shortcomings and refraining from the use of insulting terms, such as "nigger."

Another company reported that when it attempted to fill skilled positions with Negroes the foremen said they would never be able to teach them as long as they lived. "It couldn't be done." The foremen were told they had to do it, and they now agree that it can be done and are "quite won over to the point of employing Negroes. . . ."

The superintendent of a foundry employing 2,500 men, of whom 427 are Negroes, said: "The foremen told me one time that they never could get a colored man to grind because he was afraid of the wheel. I thought we'd better try out a few of them. We found that it was not the fact at all. One of the best grinders we now have is a colored man."[1]

95. In the time when the jobs were scarce and lots of men were walking the streets in search for employment there were several large apartment houses in the process of construction in Long Island City not far from where I lived. Several times

[1] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

I went over and asked the foreman whether they needed any carpenters and every time I received an answer something like this:

"Not just now. Perhaps next week. We hired men yesterday, the day before," and so on.

I noticed that all the men working there were Italians. They talked Italian among themselves and received their orders in Italian.

Then a letter came to me from a friend of mine, a member of my own race, telling me of a job in Far Rockaway. So I took a ride down there and got a job. It took me about twenty minutes walk to the railway station and then about three-quarters of an hour with the train. So I traveled for about three months from Long Island City to Far Rockaway. In the meantime another bunch of carpenters came from Brooklyn via Manhattan to work in Long Island City.

The reason the carpenters took to traveling this way was the foreman on the job who felt lonesome without the people of his own race around him. The men also liked the boss of their own race better than a stranger and they didn't mind the traveling in order to be associated with their own.

In another slack season during the cold weeks in the end of January I had in mind a big hotel in the neighborhood of the Grand Central. There was much carpenter work in sight there, on trim, a good gang working already and with many chances that a score of men might be hired perhaps tomorrow, the next day, or next Monday. So I kept my eye on the job and visited it regularly.

The foreman on the job seemed to be a very decent fellow. He wasn't stuck up because he was a foreman and had the power to hire and fire the men. Every time I talked to him he had a friendly face and was willing to answer queries and at no time showed any signs of being tired of new men and their questions. So I thought there might be something done. And I came again. But unfortunately I was told every time that they had all the help they needed. It also happened that whenever I missed one single day, then that was the day the foreman hired new men. And I was informed of the sad fact next time I came around.

A young carpenter passed me in the hallway. His face looked familiar to me because I had seen him every time I came over.

"Looking for a job again?" he asked me.

"Yes," said I. "The foreman told me to come around today; he said he might need new men."

"Can you talk Yiddish?"

"No."

"Well, you wouldn't get the job. That's the game here."

The cover fell off my eyes. I saw immediately what I could have noticed on the first day, but to which I had paid no particular attention. All the men working there were Jews. What the brother said was true. I opened the door and the cold winter wind blew fine powder of snow and dust into my eyes.

During the war I was working in a big plant in Brooklyn as a carpenter. I was wondering then why couldn't I get a joiner's job. The joiners are always inside doing finer work with the lighter material, while the carpenters are outside using heavier lumber and often have to handle dirty material; on concrete forms, for instance. Aside from these differences there was a great difference in the pay due to the overtime work. The joiners in that particular case worked overtime and the carpenters did not. For the overtime work they were paid at the rate of two and a half times. At the end of the week the joiner's envelope contained $57.60, while the carpenter's had only $24.60.

That is the reason I once approached the boss with a fine saw under my arm, asking him to put me into a joiners' gang. I told him that I had been doing joiner's work all the time, that I had all the joiner's tools and that it was bad for me to cut rough lumber with a fine saw. My words didn't seem to have any effect on the boss. He didn't even answer me. And I went back to my work wondering what was the matter. A few days later a young boy joined our gang for a couple of days. He was a lad about twenty, and didn't weigh much over 120 pounds, cheerful in his behavior and foolish.

"Oh, I am so glad I got over that overtime for a change," he told me the first day I saw him. "I have been working

overtime for the last three months in the joiners' gang without a single Sunday off."

"And how did you happen to get into that gang?" I asked him.

"I was introduced to Mr. Olsen at our society fair," he said, "and he put me on."

That was true. The head foreman was a Swede, and the men working there were Swedes. They talked Swedish among themselves and received their orders in their mother tongue when there were no other races near by. And the only tool I ever saw in the hands of that young man was a hammer. He used to play and not work with it.[1]

Explain the attitudes displayed by the foremen in these examples. Compare them with the policies of the respective employers, so far as these are indicated or may be imagined. Have you come across similar instances in offices, in institutions, in organizations—where minor officials have acted upon policies which were contrary to those of their employers?

Relations Between Fellow Workers

And now we come to the attitudes of workingmen toward fellow workers of other races, as displayed in recognized policies rather than in the actions of individuals:

96. The second cause [of the failure of the steel strike] was the successful use of strike breakers, principally Negroes, by the steel companies, in conjunction with the abrogation of civil liberties. As a fighting proposition the strike was broken by the successful establishment of, first, the theory of "resuming production" and, second, the fact of it. Production was maintained without any interruption in some plants. On this basis the companies created a *belief* that it was being resumed everywhere. Then by the use of strike breakers they spread the actual resumptions and reinforced the theory. Negro workers were imported and were shifted from plant to plant: in Gary the Negroes were marched ostentatiously through the streets; in Youngstown and near Pittsburgh they were smuggled in at

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[1] Andrew Pranspill in The Survey for December 15, 1922, p. 376.

night. "Niggers did it," was a not uncommon remark among company officers.

Besides the comparatively small bands of avowed strike breakers, shifted from plant to plant, it is evident that the great numbers of Negroes who flowed into the Chicago and Pittsburgh plants were conscious of strike breaking. For this attitude, the steel strikers rightly blamed American organized labor. In the past the majority of A. F. of L. unions have been white unions only. Their constitutions often so provide. Through many an experience Negroes came to believe that the only way they could break into a unionized industry was through strike breaking. The recent change in A. F. of L. official attitude toward Negroes has not had time to be effective. At Youngstown, for example, one lone Negro machinist striker, who stuck to the end, was never admitted to the striking machinists' local.[1]

97. In one shop I went to last month some of the men went on a strike for a few days for a silly reason and, of course, lost hopelessly.

It came about this way: Buckets of molten lead or iron ore passed from man to man. A. holds the bucket and says, "Who's turn is it?" A Negro says, "It is Mr. B.'s turn." C. says, "You're a liar, it's D.'s turn." But the Negro insists that it is B.'s turn. At that C. picks up an iron rod and knocks the Negro unconscious, and almost burns him to death with the hot iron.

The superintendent discharged C. who had a bad reputation for picking fights when he gets a chance and of making things generally unpleasant. A committee of white laborers came to the superintendent wanting to know what he intended to do about the Negro when he got well. The superintendent said he intended taking him back on the job. At this the white men struck—simply because the superintendent would not discharge the Negro. Of course, there were enough who

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[1] Commission of Inquiry, Interchurch World Movement, The Steel Strike of 1919. Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920, p. 177. For a more detailed description of the respective attitudes and policies of employers, trade unions and strike breakers, see William Z. Foster, The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons. B. W. Huebsch, 1920, p. 198 *et seq.*

stayed on the job, and the others completely lost out and in true humility came back to work a few days later.[1]

98. A few months ago, William Townsend, a Negro thirty-two years of age, passed the requirements for appointment to the fire department of East Orange, N. J. On April 10th, he was called and reported for duty.[2]

Having a fair education, he had experienced little difficulty in passing the written examinations, and in reporting for work expected to encounter perhaps some minor snobbery, but at least a few new friendships. The dozen or more firemen on his first appearance, who stood smoking or lounged about with the morning's paper before them, remained as rigidly fixed and silent to his morning's greeting as waxed figures in tableaux. Their further dissatisfaction at his presence was soon expressed in retreat to their rooms on the second floor of the building. In the rounds of the day, as Townsend repaired upstairs they repaired down and vice versa. Soon the sullen dissatisfaction became more articulate. Racial epithets intended to be insulting poured forth.

According to the regulation of the fire department all firemen are required to spend certain hours in school, practicing fire fighting and exercising with the hose. Townsend had no uniform. He wore a neat civilian suit and carried an old army uniform for the exercises, changing his clothing for the occasion. Newly appointed firemen do not receive their uniforms until they have given three months of satisfactory service. When he returned to his room from the exercise his civilian clothing had been virtually destroyed. The following day, as he stood beneath one of the windows, a pail of cold water was showered upon him. He reported the affair to the chief, who chose to regard it as a playful prank. In remarking upon the incident, he conveyed to Townsend by innuendo that he was being bored by his complaints.

Later, while asleep, the Negro was covered with an itching

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[1] From a letter written by a southern state inspector of labor. He adds to this incident: "This is what I mean by complete lack of intelligent leadership. They never think of striking for shorter hours, higher pay or better working conditions."

[2] Census figures indicate that there are about 350 Negro firemen of city fire departments in the United States.

powder. Upon reporting the matter he was told to take a bath. This opened the pores and enabled the powder to get under the skin, causing more serious irritation. The fire commissioner, upon learning of the trick, granted him a three days' leave for medical treatment.

On his return he found his fire coat cut into bits; later, his rubber equipment was thrown from the rig and placed under the wheels of the engine; and on another occasion his boots were stolen and hidden. In the case of a fire he is left behind if possible. The method is to avoid ringing the bell to signal the fireman until all the white firemen are dressed and on the trucks. "Getting left" is a very serious offense, and on one occasion in which they had been successful, Townsend joined the chief in his Ford automobile.[1]

99. Going across country on foot, we came to a small manufacturing village. We decided to try our luck at the factory, which proved to be a woolen mill, and found employment. Our work was sorting old rags and carrying them in wheelbarrows into a hot oven, in which the air was almost suffocating. Every time a person went in it he was obliged to run out as quickly as possible, for the heat was unbearable. Unfortunately for us, the crew was composed almost entirely of Russians, who hated us from the first day, and called us "dagoes." I had never heard the word before; I asked Louis if he knew its meaning, but he did not. In going in and out of the oven the Russians would crowd against us and make it hard for us to pass. One morning, as I was coming out, four of the men hedged me in. I thought I would suffocate. I finally succeeded in pushing out, my hand having been cut in the rush of the wheelbarrows.

The superintendent of the factory had observed the whole incident. He was a very kindly man. From his light complexion I think he was a Swede. He came to my rescue, reprimanded the Russians, and led me to his office, where he bandaged my hand. Then he called Louis and explained the situation to us. The Russians looked upon us as intruders and were determined not to work side by side with "the foreign-

[1] Opportunity for June, 1923.

ers,'' but to drive them out of the factory. Therefore, much as he regretted it, the superintendent was obliged to ask us to leave, since there were only two of us, as against the large number of Russians who made up his unskilled crew.

So we left. My bandaged hand hurt me, but my heart hurt more. The kind of work was hard and humiliating enough, but what went deeper than all else was the first realization that because of race I was being put on the road.[1]

100. Sometimes people of the same nationality will not work amicably together. A southern Italian found employment in a web factory near New Haven where many northern Italians were employed, but these made the life of the ''new hand'' so wretched the first day that he did not come the second. The foreman asked the northern Italians why they objected to the man; their answer was: ''We don't want no Dago here.''[2]

Does this example involve race feeling? Do you know of other nationalities whose component groups have difficulty in getting on together? Do you know of races spread over different hostile nationalities?

The evidence of this section would be incomplete without at least one example illustrating a widespread attitude on the part of Negro workers toward their white fellow workers.

101. Consider the situation faced by the unions in the campaign to organize the Chicago packing houses in 1917-18. The Negroes in this industry are a strong factor (numbering 14,000 of a total of some 65,000 employees), and the unions were determined to organize them. But no sooner had organizers begun the work than they met the firm opposition of the Negro intelligentsia [of a certain type]. These warned their people to have nothing to do with the movement, as their interest lay in working with the packers to defeat the unions. They said that was how the Negroes came into the packing industry, and that was how they would progress in it.

Naturally, they repeated the accusations about white men not taking Negroes in their unions, a charge which was not true in the packing industry. The organizers replied by launching

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[1] Constantine M. Panunzio, The Soul of an Immigrant. Macmillan Co., 1921, p. 81.

[2] Peter Roberts, The New Immigration. Macmillan Co., 1912, p. 75.

a vigorous campaign to get them into the unions. Then the propaganda was sent forth that the only reason the whites were willing to take the blacks into their locals was because the latter, being in a minority, could exert no control; that the whites would not dare to give them a local of their own, etc. This was met by the establishment of a Negro local of miscellaneous workers in a convenient neighborhood. Then the Jim Crow cry was raised that the whites wanted the blacks to herd by themselves. This the organizers answered by insisting that a free transfer system be kept up between the white and black locals. These were affiliated with the basic organization of the industry, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

But even this did not satisfy; the anti-union propaganda went on undiminished and with tremendous effect. It is true that some far-sighted Negro intellectuals defended the unions; but they were as men crying in the wilderness; the others prevailed. And although the unions kept a crew of Negro organizers in the field, and won many concessions for the packing house workers, including the eight-hour day, right of collective bargaining, large increases in wages, 40-hour weekly guarantee, retroactive pay, seniority rights, etc., they have never succeeded in organizing the Negroes.

They know little of the race problem in industry who declare that it can be settled merely by the unions opening their doors to the Negroes. It is much more complex than that, and will require the best thought that conscientious whites and blacks can give it. The Negro has the more difficult part to solve, in resisting the insidious efforts of unscrupulous white employers and misguided intellectuals of his own race to make a professional strike-breaker of him. But I am confident that he will win out and will take his place where he belongs in the industrial fight, side by side with the white workers.[1]

Are the attitudes of white and colored, of native and foreign-born wage-earners toward each other dominated by

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[1] William Z. Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 211. See also The Negro in Chicago, p. 403 *et seq.* For details of a successful Negro labor union, see Opportunity for May, 1923. The Negro in relation to trade unionism is further discussed by W. D. Weatherford, *op. cit.*, p. 250 *et seq.*, and in articles by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois and by Bertha Wallerstein in The Nation for May 9, 1923, and September 1, 1923.

economic interests? If not, what other motives enter into their relations? By what means are wage-earners trying to place a handicap on those of other races or nationalities? With what effectiveness?

Is it true, so far as your observation goes, that class loyalties and class war are rapidly taking the place of race loyalties and race war?[1] *What labor policies, if any, underlie actions which, on the surface, seem to be contrary to the economic interests of labor? Have race feelings a stronger hold on the emotions than economic interests?*

Are the same races always the "under dog" or the "upper dog" in situations involving discrimination? Or may they be one and the other on different occasions?

Have you ever worked with members of other races? Has such working together influenced your attitude toward them? Have you noticed peculiarities which you ascribe to their racial origin? Have you formed judgments as to superior and inferior racial capacities for the sort of work you are engaged in? What was the basis for your judgment? Has it affected your conduct toward members of other races?

The Public Interest

And what of public policies that make for differences in the industrial opportunities of different groups? We have already seen samples of them in the sections dealing with public employment and with licensing for the exercise of occupations. [See p. 68 and p. 71.] There remains the field of labor legislation. Here, at least, one would expect to find complete impartiality as between the different races, in line with the spirit if not the wording of most of our state constitutions.

102. An employer, commenting on the difficulty of keeping children out of the factory, said, "A nigger woman will come with a couple of kids, and you can't tell how old they are, and they'll swear up and down that they are 14, and if you

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[1] This is a strong contention of Charles Conant Josey, Race and National Solidarity. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923.

don't believe them and start to put them out, the woman will say, 'If *they* can't pick, *I'll* go.' . . . If you put out a nigger kid, a bunch of older ones may go, too."

A very different attitude on the part of the colored people in another factory was revealed in the case of a 13-year-old boy whose mother had sent him to the cannery after school and on Saturdays. Later, she let him stay away from school every other week to work. When he had been working three weeks the colored people objected. They went to the weigher and protested that he was too young to work. The mother said she then complained to the owner, who decided that the boy was old enough to work. However, "the shrimp began to get slender and the factory shut down," and the child did not continue to work.

The comment of the head of the associated charities in this community is of interest. He stated that one employer had been fined for employing white children, but "the laws are not applied to the Negroes as stringently as to the white people, and therefore more Negro children than white work."[1]

103. The president of one of the largest sugar beet factories in Michigan not long ago defended his attitude of hostility to a change in the law concerning the employment of children on the ground that "25 per cent of all the beet workers in Michigan fields are Mexicans."

104. A stenographer in one of the offices said, "Yes, I'll take you up, but I can't stay long, the noise is so terrible." But in this very factory the thirty (colored) girls who were bundling stood within two feet of these machines for 9¾ hours a day in violation of the state labor law.[2]

Who suffers when protective labor laws are not enforced in regard to a specific group? Only the colored children in example No. 102, or also the white people? Note the last paragraph of the story. Only the Mexicans in the Michigan beet

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[1] Viola I. Paradise, Child Labor and the Work of Mothers in Oyster and Shrimp Canning Communities on the Gulf Coast. U. S. Children's Bureau publication No. 98, 1922, p. 18.

[2] A New Day for the Colored Woman Worker. A Joint Study by New York agencies, 1919, p. 17.

fields? Or the whole community?[1] *How is it that public opinion does not insist on enforcement of these laws? That the Negro or foreign-born workers involved in such discriminations against them do not complain in the courts?*

Of what other types of legislation do you know that handicap Negroes or immigrants in securing industrial opportunities or prevent them from enjoying equal protection from exploitation?[2]

Are there laws or regulations in your state adopted for the special purpose of protecting the ignorant or the economically weak? Are they applied with equal force in the interest of all racial groups?

Is any illegal home labor, employment of women or children, disregard of state or local labor regulations, etc., taking place in your community? Do such evasions of the law affect all racial groups alike? Are the citizens ignorant of the existence of illegal conditions? Is any agency or group specifically charging itself with the task of preventing such things, of informing the public concerning them?

Economic Exploitation

The first two chapters have ended with sections dealing with deliberate exploitation, first of misunderstandings of facts influencing race attitudes, then of the existing race prejudices themselves so as to secure action favorable to some specific interest. Here also we have to record a form of exploitation; it is that which directly arises from the position of racial superiority in the field of economic relationships.

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[1] For full particulars of the situation see Child Labor in the Sugar Beet Fields of Michigan; National Child Labor Committee, 1923. For a similar situation: California the Golden; National Child Labor Committee.

[2] See William M. Leiserson, *op. cit.*, for information on the way in which the government's recognized responsibility for the protection of labor is often unapplied in the case of immigrants. Of special interest in the present connection is the instance given of a state law, since declared unconstitutional, actually enjoining private industries to discriminate against aliens in the benefits receivable under workmen's compensation laws (p. 252).

105. Lucy Carney, a full-blooded Chickasaw Indian, sold, with the approval of the Court of Pontotoc County (Oklahoma), 154.45 acres for $1,600, and three days later the purchaser was able to borrow from a Trust Company the sum of $2,100. In other words, as that Trust Company does not loan in excess of forty per cent of the actual value, this property was worth $7,300; yet it was sold, with the approval of the court, for $1,600.

When inherited land is to be sold, the judge of the County Court concerned appoints a board to appraise the property, and usually approves without question the findings submitted. In these cases, the investigators found no deliberate conspiracy to defraud the Indian heirs; but there was flagrant and criminal indifference to the interests of helpless minors and incompetents.[1]

106. "A True Story" is the heading of the following incident told in Opportunity (August, 1923) which illustrates the recognition by both white and colored in the South that their business relations are not exactly based on the "golden rule":

A Negro carried two bales of cotton to town to the landlord to pay off his year's account. He had previously paid off his rent and guano bill, and cotton was selling around twenty-five cents; so the Negro said to the landlord, "Boss, here are two bales of cotton I brought to pay up my account. I had a hard time getting it up, so figure up and see how we stand." After running over the figures, he said to the Negro, "Well, by Jove, we are even. I don't owe you anything, and you don't owe me anything."

The Negro said, "Boss, are you sure you are right?" "Oh, yes," said the landlord, "my figures are correct." So the Negro said, "Well, Boss, I am going down the street and I'll be back after a while. You go over them figures again and be sure you are right." So the Negro went down the street and returned in about an hour with another colored man, and said to the landlord, "Did you go back over them figures?" He

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[1] This is one of the shortest and mildest illustrations of the probate situation given in Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians, a report on a joint investigation by a number of interested agencies, published by the Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia, 1924.

said, "Yes, and we are even." So the Negro said, "I am glad I am out of debt one time." The Negro scratched his head and said, "Well, I have about two or three bales in the field to buy my family some winter clothes." The landlord said to him, "Why in hell did not you tell me you had some more cotton at home? Now I must go all over my figures again."

107. Not long ago, an American rancher engaged a gang of Mexican men to clear some ground. He offered them so much per acre and transportation. They were to take their blankets and cooking outfits, he would provide them with tents and charge their food against their wages. Eight men went out to do this work. He had represented to them that they could earn about two dollars a day each at the rate he offered.

After working for two days under the hot Texas sun, they found that they were six dollars in debt for food—that is, that they had been charged that much more for food than they had been able to earn, not because they were lazy but because the American had misrepresented the working conditions, or they in their ignorance of the language had misunderstood him. The American would not make an adjustment of wages and refused to bring them back to town. Needless to say, after they had walked the thirty-five miles with their rolls of bedding, these men did not have a good opinion of that American in particular or of Americans in general.

108. Advertisements in California papers gave much space to a marvelous colonization project on land not far from a large city. It was to be a paradise of small farms, and the idea fired the imagination of a Hungarian, influential in a colony of his own people. The agent was delighted. Would the Hungarian trade his city home? And, since he had found the wonderful chance, would he not pass it on to the other members of the colony? Also, to make the work more efficient, would he not act as subagent?

A few months passed during which men signed away their homes in the city, assumed heavy mortgages, and went happily after the will-o'-the-wisp of the small farm of peace and independence.

Then, the flat announcement by the company—"No funds," which meant no improvements, the chaos of bankruptcy, the foreclosure on mortgages by the original owner of the land.

And the panic-stricken group searching frantically for redress.

It was a complicated affair. The bureau, in its work of research, had to probe very deep into the relations between the company and certain large corporations which backed it, relations which would not bear the light of day. The bureau, in its work of adjustment, had to bring heavy pressure upon these corporations. But at last justice was secured and deeds were obtained for much of the property.[1]

109. I have seen a (Mexican) convict take half a silver dollar and spend three or four hours working it into a bracelet such as would sell at Tiffany's for three or four dollars, and then some passing tourist will beat the convict down to selling his work for sixty or seventy cents. But a convict's time is not worth anything. I have seen (in Taos County, New Mexico) some American who has "spotted" a blanket, or a beautiful old hand-carved chest, wait until sickness or want forces its sale for less than the purchaser could buy a "store" blanket or new lumber to make another chest. Then the Americans rail against the shiftlessness of the Mexican. . . .[2]

Are instances of exploitation such as those described [see also examples Nos. 79, 82, 96, 101, 102, 104, 113 and 114] possible except with a general psychological setting inimical to the interests of the "inferior" group? Name some much larger examples of race exploitation compared with which these examples are mere details. Does a Negro get his money's worth on the railroads of the South? Is he on equal terms of competition with the white in seeking to buy a home in the North?

Let us now look at some of the major questions arising from this chapter:

Is complete equality of economic opportunity possible without equal political rights? Without the admission by the com-

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[1] Ninth Annual Report of the Commission of Immigration and Housing of California, 1923.

[2] Mary Austin, Social Survey of Taos County, State of New Mexico; quoted in Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted. Harper & Brothers, 1921, p. 187.

munity that at least some members of every race may be able to rise above its assumed general level of competency?

Can a racial group be on equal terms of competition in the labor market if looked upon as biologically, culturally or socially inferior?

Do civil service laws which eliminate the race factor, minimum wage laws and others which counteract the handicap of race in vocational competition reflect the general attitude of the dominant group?

Has inequality of treatment in the struggle for life an influence on the character and morals of the handicapped groups? What is it? What is the effect of preferred employment and preferential working conditions upon the character and morals of the privileged groups?

Is equality in the vocational life compatible with inequality in educational opportunities? With political inequality?

Does work with congenial groups make for greater efficiency? Does congeniality imply similarity of race or national background?

Is the employment policy of an individual plant in relation to race a matter of public concern? Is it possible in such policy to disregard the general reputation of a group—as regards honesty, industry, docility, for example? Can we judge the qualifications of an individual without thought of the known character of the group to which he belongs?

What is the main purpose of a trade union? Is it compatible with that purpose if it includes in its policies preferential treatment for, or discriminatory treatment against, specific racial groups? Is the policy of a trade union or that of an employer as regards race necessarily in keeping with the prevailing popular sentiment?

Would you go for treatment to a doctor of a race looked upon as inferior? Would you, if a doctor, refuse to treat

members of such a race? Think of other similar relations between client and practitioner: are physical reactions to the other race, reactions to its customs, habits, social status or mental characteristics equally effective in the attitude of both? Can there be professional equality if there are great differences in these attitudes?

What part does economic rivalry play in the handicaps put upon business men of a supposedly inferior racial group? What exactly are the motives behind efforts, where they exist, to keep members of another race out of competition? Does the particular character of the race have any significance?

Why is there so little agreement on the outstanding characteristics of different racial groups? Name the order of your preferences in the employment of members of the following groups if you were (1) a grocer requiring delivery boys; (2) a hospital needing nurses; (3) a road contractor needing navvies; (4) a publisher needing proofreaders.

Native white American	*Armenian*
Full-blooded Negro	*Chinese*
Mulatto	*Swede*
English	*Pole*
Italian	*American Indian*
Jew	*Magyar*

Name the reasons for your preferences. Would racial motives be equally strong in each choice? Compare your preferences with those of others; find reasons for differences in judgment, tracing back of reasons that first occur more remote experiences and associations that may influence motives.

CHAPTER V

Educational Handicaps

See note on top of page 1

That there is a connection between the civic, economic and social attitudes and policies of one race group toward another will have become evident before now. Exactly what that connection is, further study must be relied upon to reveal. Education, with which we are concerned in the present chapter, occupies a connecting link between the other three factors that have been named. Often it is differences in the degree of culture which influence political or social status and which determine the limits of occupational opportunities. At the same time, it is in the educational opportunities provided or withheld that the attitude of the dominant to the weaker group may make itself most clearly felt. A denial of education may mean a denial of civic influence, of social status and, to some extent, of livelihood. On the other hand, instances of exclusive policies in education may only be varieties of relationships in which essentially civic, economic or social attitudes of one group to another are the characteristic note. Let us examine the evidence.

School Provision

Reference has already been made to the difference in the provisions made for schools over a large part of this country as between one race and another. Indeed, with few exceptions, this may be said to be the typical situation in the United States; for even where legally all children are entitled to the same schooling, but where the school population is segregated on racial lines, in practice the school accommodation, the cali-

ber of teachers and the opportunities for higher education tend to be unequal.

The following examples illustrate conditions which, so far as the South is concerned, are becoming less and less typical because of the awakened general interest in education, the influence of such institutions as Hampton, Tuskegee, Fisk and Morehouse, and the activities of philanthropic agencies.[1]

110. Recently a not inconsiderable town in a southern state built its first elementary school for Negroes. It was a three-room frame building; already inadequate at the start, for it was to house 125 pupils with two teachers. The town provided no more than the bare building. The Negroes were expected to purchase desks, blackboards, and other necessary equipment, as well as to pay the teachers' salaries.

Yet this event marked a real step of progress. The whole county had only four schools which colored children could attend, two of them old, miserable, one-room school houses, one an abandoned Negro church, said to be in "perfectly horrible" condition, and one a Rosenwald school of modern construction and equipment. These schools are from ten to eighteen miles apart. The county provides funds with which to keep them open for three months in the year and will pay for another month if the Negroes of the county, who are very poor, will raise the necessary money for opening the schools a fifth month.

There is in this county a small training school for colored teachers under the auspices of a mission board; this is in danger of being closed for lack of local cooperation.

111. A large southern city recently let the contract for a $250,000 high school for its colored population. According to the authorities, the courses of study at this high school will be liberal, preparing for college entrance. But so un-

[1] For a full account of the school situation in the South see W. D. Weatherford, *op. cit.*, chapter XIV. Other general sources of information on present conditions are The Negro Year Book, edited by M. N. Work, Tuskegee Institute; the reports of the General Education Board and of the Jeanes, Slater and Rosenwald Funds; Negro Education, U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1916, Nos. 38 and 39.

favorable is public opinion to giving Negroes a general humanistic education that, in order to get approval of the bond issue, it was necessary to label the institution an *Industrial* High School for Negroes.

This state of public opinion is shown also in a complete lack of public provision for the training of teachers. The city in question has about two thousand Negro children of high-school age. Of course, all of these will not avail themselves of the new school facilities. But the total number of colored children of school age is 12,000, requiring at least 300 teachers, if complete school attendance were enforced. Yet the city in the past has done nothing to train these teachers.

In this city, there is a small junior college for Negroes under the auspices of one of the denominational missionary societies; this college proposes to enlarge its program to train the teachers needed for the new high school. But the sponsors of the institution are not willing to bear the whole cost without local support. They laid the matter before the school board, before an influential organization of colored residents and before the alumni, threatening to move the institution to another city unless there was more evidence of willingness to cooperate.

The superintendent of schools, though sympathetic, and realizing the necessity of training more teachers, expressed fear that the white citizens, after having voted the high school bonds, might resent being asked for still further expenditure on Negro education. But he thought that the city might at any rate pay the salary of a teacher of education at the school. The Negro organization pledged itself to vigorous participation in a campaign for funds by the alumni, who themselves undertook to find at least $2,500 a year with the understanding that this amount would be raised from year to year as the extension plan would come more fully into operation.

112. In a city of Oklahoma in March, 1924, the annual school election was held. A leaflet published by a committee of the high school for white children stated that "any person qualified can vote in this election and does not have to be registered. A citizen of the United States who has lived in Oklahoma one year, in ——— County six months, and in the

precinct thirty days, can vote. The colored people are not permitted to vote at this election."

Several years before, in this same city, the colored people were induced to vote $80,000 for school purposes with the understanding that $60,000 would be for a white school and $20,000 for a colored school. After the vote for the appropriation was carried, the entire $80,000 was used to build a white high school and none for the Negro school. Later, two rooms were added to the four rooms of the old building of the Negro school. The population of the two races in the city is about equal. The white children now have a four-year accredited high school with twenty-one units; the Negro children none.

Compare these examples with the situation in other parts of the country and those affecting other racial groups, as in the following illustrations:

113. Cotton fields are everywhere in the Valley. They are crowded with pickers and among them "children thick as bees," as one school principal said. All kinds of children pick —even those as young as three years! Five-year-old children pick steadily all day. "Why not?" one hears, "most of them are Mexicans." Perhaps. But many white American children are among them—pure American stock, who have gradually moved from the Carolinas, Tennessee, and other southern states into Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona, and on into the Imperial Valley. One hears much in the Valley of "Texicans"—a scornful term other pickers use in speaking of those who come from the Lone Star State. . . .

Several of the towns in the Valley have their own attendance officers who work within the limits of their own school district. In these urban or semi-urban areas, wholesale violation of the school attendance laws generally does not exist. But the attendance officer in one of these places said that while he would not arrest the white ranchers for working children he would "nip a Hindoo" whenever he could.

One school trustee, in conversation concerning the enforcement of the school attendance laws, said: "We don't want to enforce these laws. We don't want to bring a lot of dirty, lousy little Mexicans into our schools."

Some schools in the Imperial Valley, however, have put in shower baths! This is no doubt very much better Americanization work than shutting out a group of children who are growing up in the community, some of whom will later on vote on the school facilities of the children of Americans. . . .

The Hindus and Negroes employ not only Mexican children and Negroes, but American white children. Some of the whites who work their children in cotton fields owned and operated by Negroes explained that they kept them out of school to pick cotton so that they might not sit next to Negro children in the school-room. The Negroes of the Valley seem more anxious to send their children to school than the American whites.[1]

114. We often heard the following: "Beet work is very hard for grown people, but it don't hurt the kids, 'cause they don't have so far to bend. . . ."

One farmer claimed that he liked the workers very much, saying: "I've made money on the hunkies. Wish we had a lot more of them. If they cannot keep their kids out of school, my beets will have to stay in the ground. It won't hurt anybody for them to miss a month."[2]

115. Fuller School is a branch of Felsenthal (School) and has the same principal; it is in a neighborhood where the percentage of Negroes is practically the same as in the neighborhood around Felsenthal, but there is a very great difference in the percentage of Negro children in the two schools, according to figures given by the principal. It appears from this that the principal, who is a believer in separate schools, places the large majority of Negro children in Fuller School. Negroes in the vicinity say that the Fuller School is run down and neglected, that the staff of teachers is below the average, that the school has no playground of its own but must use

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[1] Emma Duke, California the Golden. National Child Labor Committee. This report brought out sharp protests from citizens and newspapers in the Imperial Valley. One paper protested that there were no children working in the cotton fields in the Imperial Valley; that *if you left out of the count Japanese and Mexican children "which swarm like flies"* there were hardly any other children to be found.

[2] Child Labor in the Sugar Beet Fields of Michigan. National Child Labor Committee, 1923. See also examples Nos. 102 and 103.

the one at Felsenthal, and that all the unmanageable children are sent there from Felsenthal.[1]

116. Enough district schools exist (at Yankton, South Dakota) to give school facilities to every child, but attendance is not up to standard because of failure to enforce the truancy laws. It is the old story of the white people, on the whole, not being favorable to enforcement of school attendance on the part of the Indians, and the Indians themselves not yet being sufficiently advanced to feel keenly about education. . . .

At Charenton, Louisiana, a French village ten miles northeast of Franklin, is a Chittemache band of about ninety Indians, all of whom speak French and most of them also English. Socially they are classed as Negroes, but they are proud of their Indian blood, and as they refuse to attend Negro schools, they remain without educational facilities. . . .

In the Spavinaw Hills district of the Cherokee country (Oklahoma) and in the mountainous regions of the Choctaw country, many hundreds of Indian children are without adequate school facilities. Members of the Snake and Nighthawk societies are opposed to sending their children to school, but in general parents show anxiety to have their children educated. While public school facilities are available in many districts, the attendance of Indian children receives no marked encouragement from the white people. This is especially true of the restricted Indian whose inability to provide adequate clothing and other necessities makes his children seem undesirable associates for the white children. In the more enlightened districts the attendance of Indian children in public schools is very satisfactory, and in not a few communities Indians are serving on school boards and some are teachers. . . .[2]

Do Negroes enjoy better school facilities in the North than in the South? Do white children? Why is the South educationally backward? Does the vote, where Negroes are en-

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[1] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

[2] G. E. E. Lindquist, The Red Man in the United States. George H. Doran Co., 1923. The educational opportunities enjoyed by Indians vary so greatly in different parts of the country and among different tribes that these quotations must not be regarded as typical; they merely serve to illustrate one particular aspect.

franchised, ensure them equal treatment in the matter of school provision? Is example No. 110 exceptional?

Are separate schools provided for races other than Negroes in any part of the country? If so, is such separate provision a result of historical development or of deliberate present-day policy?

Is the school attendance law as a rule enforced equally upon all races? Are such evasions as those described in examples Nos. 111 and 112 typical of communities with a large foreign-born population?

Is the unequal enforcement of school attendance laws due to the lack of interest of some racial and national groups in education?

Another phase which must not be overlooked is that often more or less equal school provision for children of all races in general primary education may go together with considerable differences in the provision of special classes and schools. As our educational system becomes more complicated, attempting to recognize more fittingly the separate needs of backward and especially gifted, tuberculous, truant, and crippled children, etc., the provision of equal chances without intermingling of different races becomes an especially costly and difficult business. The following illustration of the problem indicates that difficulty and also, incidentally, the need for vigilance on the part of those who place educational efficiency before considerations of color.

117. After a hard fight, the legislature of a southern state passed a bill appropriating money for an industrial school for delinquent Negro girls. Just as the building was finished, a new legislature and a new governor came into office. This new governor was elected on an economy platform. He and the new legislature, therefore, promptly proposed to sell the building for the industrial school, thus putting the money back into the treasury and also saving an appropriation of perhaps $40,000 a year for maintenance.

This suggestion was quietly tucked away in one of the clauses of the economy bill where, it was thought, it would not be noticed. Certain of the interracial forces in the state caught the matter, however; the governor was interviewed at once, every member of the interracial commission in the state was wired to and asked to send telegrams both to his own senator and representatives and to the governor. Another large delegation waited on the governor, and the school was saved.

In the argument it came out that in the judgment of the new state administration the new school would at best be able to take care of only a small proportion of the colored girls whom it might be desirable to send to an industrial school. The chief argument of the white objectors to the proposed action was that the effectiveness of the new school was no longer the main point in question, nor any other possible use to which the funds necessary for its maintenance might be put; but the fact that the state had entered into an engagement toward its colored people which could not be broken without creating a semblance of bad faith and counteracting the forces making for better mutual understanding between white and colored.

Education Outside School

Education is not limited to the classroom. Educators increasingly emphasize the educational value of the activities and experiences of the child outside school hours. There is often something a little artificial, a little remote from the life and sentiment of the community in the formal class work. On the streets and playgrounds the child imbibes more of the actual standards and values of the adult world. It is, therefore, interesting to see what other race attitudes in the life and thinking of the community are especially likely to affect the education of children.

118. Charles, a colored boy of twelve years, lived in a town of some forty thousand population, eight hundred of whom were colored. He was rather popular in a school of some eight hundred pupils of which there were not more than eight

colored. In his own class he was the only colored boy. He was good at basketball, football, and baseball, and was the champion sixty-yard runner of the school.

A Boy Scout troop was formed in his neighborhood which used the school building as its meeting place. Of course, Charles came to the meetings with the rest of his playmates of twelve and over, who had been invited to join. Throughout the meetings which were held each Friday night Charles was one of the most jubilant of all the boys who aspired to become "tenderfoots." When the time came, however, to enroll the boys formally in the Scout troop, Charles was told by the scoutmaster that he could join in the drill and play period with the rest of the boys but could not exercise his franchise as a member until the commissioner of the Scout organization for that town gave his formal consent. Charles did not understand at first what was meant, but some of his playmates informed him that it was because he was colored, although the faces of his informants showed sincere disappointment rather than the expression of satisfaction usual when a boy has the opportunity to tell one of his playmates in a matter in which they are mutually concerned that the other is "stung."

At the next meeting Charles was informed by the scoutmaster that the commissioner had stated "nothing doing," which of course to him conveyed with a crushing blow the information that he could not on account of his color become a full-fledged Boy Scout in a troop made up of his playmates who idolized him in their play and sat and recited in the classroom on absolutely equal terms with him while at study.

One of the members of the troop, a boy of about thirteen, had a brother who was scoutmaster of another troop in another section of the town. Feeling the disappointment shared by the other boys of the troop, he laid the problem before his scoutmaster brother who, having a high sense of good sportsmanship, stated that he would put the matter before the members of his Boy Scout troop, which was also composed of white boys, and let them decide the question instead of referahead of him, and when the matter was placed before them ring it to the commissioner. Charles's reputation had gone

it was a unanimous and vociferous "aye" which responded to the question, "Are you in favor of admitting this boy?"

The members of the first troop, when they heard of the decision of the second troop to take Charles into membership, remonstrated more determinedly with their scoutmaster on the failure of the leaders of the Scout movement in their community to live up to the gospel of fair play which the movement sought to teach. They demanded in their boyish way an explanation as to why their favorite playmate could be a member of another troop a mile away but not of their own troop which met in their own neighborhood. The scoutmaster was much impressed by this demonstration and sought to regain the confidence of Charles and secure his membership, although Charles had pledged his allegiance to the second troop.

All of this happened nearly a year and a half ago. Charles has not missed a meeting of the Boy Scout troop of which he is a member, and last summer spent two weeks at its camp, where he had the time of his life, never feeling in any way the pangs which come with an atmosphere of prejudice.

Recently an effort has been made to form a colored Boy Scout troop in the town where he resides, and a suggestion has been made by the commissioner that all colored Boy Scouts, regardless of the troops of which they are members, should be assigned to this colored unit. The leader of the Boy Scout troop of which Charles is a member says that he will give up his commission as scoutmaster before he will give up Charles and another colored boy who is now also a member of Charles's troop.

119. The following correspondence passed between two private schools in a large eastern city:

POSTCARD

Dear Sir:

We have heard rumors that one of your players is colored. At a meeting of our basketball team it was decided that it would be unwise to compete against a team playing such a man. If this is true and you are able to replace your man by a white person for our game scheduled on

January 29th at your court at ten o'clock A. M. kindly advise me immediately.

Trusting that you fully understand our position and looking forward to a speedy reply, I am,

Sincerely,

_____

Manager.

LETTER IN REPLY

Dear Sir:

We have received word from the manager of your basketball team that the team has decided "that it would be unwise to compete against a team playing" a colored man. As a matter of fact . . . , the colored boy in question, is disqualified at present on account of his academic standing, but we do not think we ought to take advantage of this fact to avoid the issue. This school holds among its fundamental principles that there shall be no discrimination against any individual because of race or color. If the stand taken by your basketball team is representative of your school as an institution, I believe we must vindicate our principle before our own school and yours by declining to play with your school the game scheduled for Saturday of this week. May I ask you to do me the favor of notifying the manager of your basketball team?

It may be of interest for you to know that the colored boy . . . is the son of an Episcopal minister of this city, a man of learning and refinement.

Sincerely yours,

_____

Superintendent.

120. A Jewish high-school girl won highest honors in a graduating class of fifty. She was asked to what she attributed her success. "Why," she said, "I was barred from so many social affairs, I was made to feel so uncomfortable when I tried to take part in anything that occurred outside the class room, that I had ever so much more time for study than any of the gentile girls."

Was the policy of the Boy Scout officer in example No. 118 the same as that of the school authorities? Is the policy of the schools in the matter of race segregation or non-segregation always clear? Could a private organization simply follow the precedent of the schools in its community? Is there a difference in the contacts at school and in voluntary association? Are children likely to be less exclusive than their parents? What is the effect of a policy of exclusiveness on the children discriminated against? On the children on whose behalf the discrimination is made?

The reaction of a community to a division of the educational process into two parts, a formal one administered without distinction of race and an informal one with such distinction, is further exemplified in the following:

121. In a western city of about 50,000 inhabitants, with a Negro population of probably between five and six thousand, colored and white children attend the same high school. In 1923 the city completed a new million-dollar high school with recreational equipment, including a gymnasium with swimming pool. Some of the parents of the white children raised objections to the colored children going into the swimming pool. They brought the complaint to the school board; a delegation of colored citizens made strong representation in a hearing before the board for no distinctions to be made in the treatment of children in this public high school. There were two or three white members of the board possessed of liberal views who were in full accord with the point of view and feeling of the colored people against any discriminations or restrictions.

The board, however, finally agreed that colored children should be formed into separate classes for use of the swimming pool. The liberal members of the board recognized this as a compromise, but thought it expedient to give in on this point for fear of reaction among the white citizens of the community which might result in a campaign for a separate high school for colored children.

In Higher Education

Let us now look at a few cases of handicaps in higher education. For large parts of the country, it must be remembered,

this kind of segregation has so much become a matter of course that even the possibility of a change does not enter discussion. A Negro would no more apply for admission at the State University of Virginia than a southern white man would apply at Tuskegee; an American of Spanish-American descent would no more apply for admission to certain exclusive western colleges than an American of English descent for admission to a mission school for Indians.[1]

122. In December, 1922, Roscoe Conkling Bruce, a prominent Negro graduate of Harvard University, wrote asking that a room be reserved in one of the freshman halls for his son then preparing to enter the university. On being informed that Negro students would not be admitted to these dormitories, he addressed a letter to President A. Lawrence Lowell from which we quote as follows:

> The policy of compulsory residence in the freshman halls is costly indeed if it is the thing that constrains Harvard to enter open-eyed and brusque upon a policy of racial discrimination. . . .
>
> It is my deliberate opinion that some of these young men who, like my son, are after all Negroes by election [i. e., they are white enough to "pass over" the color line without danger of detection—*Editor*], will nullify the policy of exclusion so far as they themselves are concerned, by simply not confessing themselves members of the proscribed group. Neither a mental nor a blood test will expose that helpful duplicity. With respect to these individuals (and they outnumber popular estimates), may not the policy of exclusion have the curious effect of promoting that very amalgamation of races which the white North vies with the white South in affecting to dread? It is a thing, may I add in all candor, which all self-

[1] An important case, involving departure from a previous attitude of tolerance and a legislative precedent, is that of Berea College, Kentucky, described by Gilbert Thomas Stephenson, in Race Distinctions in American Law. (D. Appleton & Co., 1910.) Additional facts on the development of that case those especially interested may obtain from the office of The Inquiry.

respecting Americans of color do not desire. And, be assured, no son of mine will ever deny his name or his blood or his tradition.

President Lowell, in reply to this letter, said:

I am sorry that you do not feel the reasonableness of our position about the freshman dormitories. It is not a departure from the past to refuse to compel white and colored men to room in the same building. We owe to the colored man the same opportunities for education that we do to the white man, but we do not owe to him to force him and the white into social relations that are not, or may not be, mutually congenial.

We would give him freely opportunities for room and board wherever it is voluntary, but it seems to me that for the colored man to claim that he is entitled to have the white man compelled to live with him is a very unfortunate innovation, which, far from doing him good, would increase a prejudice that, as you and I will thoroughly agree, is most unfortunate and probably growing.

On the other hand, to maintain that compulsory residence in the freshman dormitories—which has proved a great benefit in breaking up the social cliques that did much injury to the college—should not be established for 99½ per cent of the students because the remaining one-half of 1 per cent could not properly be included seems to me an untenable position.

There was much discussion of this decision by Harvard graduates and the public press. The Board of Overseers of Harvard University considered the matter in connection with the rules of admission and adopted a resolution to the effect that "up to the capacity of the freshman halls all members of the freshman class shall reside and board in the freshman halls, except those who are permitted by the Dean of Harvard College to live elsewhere. In the application of this rule, men of the white and colored races shall not be compelled to live and eat together, nor shall any man be excluded [from the freshman halls] by reason of his color."[1]

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[1] Race Relations Number, Information Service, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, May 5, 1923.

The Harvard case gives a fairly clear exposition of motives, but a few additional questions may occur to the reader. For example: Would the exclusion of Negroes from the freshman dormitories have prevented what President Lowell calls the forcing of White and Negro into social relations that may not be congenial to them? Is it the object of education to establish contacts between the student and the things congenial to him? Where does the element of coercion come in when such educational contacts are established?

Is it probable that, as Mr. Bruce suggests, educational handicaps will induce considerable numbers of fair-skinned "Negroes" to pass over the color line?

Is there any particular value, from an educational point of view, in close contact between members of different racial groups? If so, what? Is there, behind the reasons given by President Lowell, any other why the heads of many leading educational institutions, some of them noted educators, try to keep their school population as nearly as possible racially homogeneous? Is the exclusiveness of many private schools mere snobbishness or does it contain good educational reasons? If so, what are they?

Is such a policy as that proposed at Harvard likely to spread to the exclusion of other groups? Of immigrants generally? Eventually of persons from different social environments, irrespective of race? Do you know of any cases where this has happened?

Is there any difference in principle between the exclusion of dark-skinned racial groups and the exclusion of Jews or of all foreign-born? Can racial and social discriminations be clearly distinguished in such cases? May one type of Jew try to keep out another type, one type of Negro another type, etc.? Do you know of such cases?

123. D., an East Indian of intelligent features but dark skin, wanted a room in the dormitory in one of the universities in the Midwest where he was a student. He was told that there was a regulation forbidding the giving of quarters there to foreign students. Later he found that no such rule

existed. He wrote to the university authorities about it but received no answer. He was a brilliant student, always making grade A in his studies. He also enjoyed a scholarship from the university. But after this experience he left the university in disgust.

124. It is not only at great universities and colleges with thousands of students that the hue and cry of attempted race discrimination is apt to arise. The matter came up not long ago at a labor college. Its main purpose is that of preparing young men and women for responsible positions in trade unionism and for participation in the labor movement generally, not in any narrow spirit but with emphasis on general culture, knowledge of history and the like. Most of the students are sent by trade unions and their tuition fees paid by them.

Although the college is situated equally favorably for a wide range of industries, and although as a matter of fact many of the students came from considerable distances, and in all fifteen nationalities were represented among them, it was felt that too large a proportion of them were Jews to make the student body a cross section of American labor, and the suggestion was made that, without in any way discriminating against the race, the issue should be faced squarely. One factor in the situation was that quarters were crowded and there were always more applicants than could be admitted.

The matter was laid before the students for their decision. After much discussion it was decided that, in the case of room for, say, one candidate, if two applicants were in every respect equally qualified for admission, preference should be given to the non-Jew. A small minority dissented from this decision and still maintains that such a rule contains the element of race discrimination.

The argument of this minority is that there is no need for the college to be representative of the racial composition of American labor; that if Jewish unions are keener than others on securing a training for their young leaders, the possibility that their enthusiasm and energy would create for them in time an unproportionately large share in the leadership of American labor should not be looked upon as a calamity but as a natural consequence of the differences in national and

racial character: that to restrict this growing Jewish influence in the labor movement by artificial rules could only injure the labor movement itself.

However, the majority defended its decision as practical and reasonable; especially also as better designed than the line of action proposed by the minority to gain support for the labor educational movement in the non-Jewish unions.

Does it help or hinder education to have a diversity of types represented among the students—a diversity, be it understood, not only of colors of skin, temperaments and interests, but also of manners, ways of using the English language, possibly moral standards? What is education, anyhow?

Relations Between Fellow Students

The following examples illustrate the kind of problem in relationships that occurs when students of a race looked down upon as inferior are admitted to college life.

125. Six girls were waiting for their faculty advisers. All were proclaimed freshmen by the length of their faces. Five of them drifted together; the sixth stood a little apart.

Kate, one of the five, came from a family and a home in which you might expect, any minute, to fall over a stranger who had come to a committee meeting; a home where you were intimate with the idea of a lady weeping at a church social because nobody had said he was glad to see her. Kate was used to meeting and thinking about "outsiders." So she left the group and joined the girl who stood apart. She probably had not noticed that the girl was a Negro until she joined her. Her impulse had been purely social; an awkward situation had appeared and she was trying to relieve it. Susan responded to Kate's friendly overtures and was apparently soon assimilated into the group.

The college is a very large one and the two girls did not see each other again for several weeks. Then they met on the steps of the chapel.

"Have you a date?" said Kate, carelessly.

The first purchase of every freshman at this college is a Chapel Date Book. In it you write the names of the girls

who offer to join you in chapel. Dates are made for weeks ahead.

"Have you a date?" said Kate.

"No," said Susan. Her face was wistful.

Again prompted by a purely social instinct, Kate pulled out her date book and said,

"I have today, but let's make two or three."

It was impossible not to notice that the book in the hands of the Negro girl was entirely blank.

Kate was not particularly observant, but it was forced on her attention some weeks later that, on the occasions when she went to chapel with Susan, none of her friends saw her, though by this time the place was swarming with her friends. Gossip from the gymnasium said that Susan always had to march with the teacher. Chairs next her in class always stood empty.

Kate thought about the matter. Finally, with a good deal of repressed anger, she said to a sympathetic listener:

"I don't mind the un-Christian part of this business. Making a whole freshman class Christian is likely to take a thousand years anyhow, and that's none of my business. But I must say I don't like the rudeness of the performance."

Her eyes grew hard with indignation.

"Here's a girl admitted by the college; she's working well and she stands well. She's here because no Negro college can offer her as good an education; but she's handicapped by her color, and the girls won't speak to her. Think of her courage in staying here!

"But think, too, of the outcome. When she goes back to her own people to teach, what kind of contribution will she be able to make to racial understandings? What kind of feelings will she have toward white people when we treat her in this way?"

"Have you talked to her about it?"

Kate stared. "Of course not," she said. "She happens to be a lady and does not talk about herself."

"Isn't there anything you can do?"

"That's just the tough part. If she were white, I should not give her a second thought. I don't like her especially—at

least not more than lots of white girls whom I dodge when I can. But if I am even decent to her she will think perhaps that she has found a friend. When she learns the truth the lie might cut worse than the rudeness of the other girls. I am sure I don't know what to do about it!''

Well, what is the answer? Should the college have refused the colored girl admission in the first place? Having been admitted, should she be regarded as an actual member of the student body?[1]

Why did the class show hostility to the colored girl? Why did Kate really resent it? Had Kate's home influences anything to do with it? Do you think Susan could have won over the girls if she had had the right kind of temperament, if she had been pleasant? Why did she go to college? Could she have attained the object in some other way? Did the treatment she expected influence her behavior? The treatment she actually got? Will the influence of this college education on her character prove good or bad?

126. In a midwestern college where the students took their meals in common dining-rooms, it occurred that a second-generation immigrant whom we shall call ''A'' was seated across the table from two Russian Jews. The meals were eaten hurriedly and with little attention to manners. This probably encouraged a spirit of raillery which invariably culminated in ''poking fun at the Jews.'' On days when the Jewish students refrained from eating certain kinds of meat, the meal-period was usually devoted exclusively to embarrassing remarks pointed at the Jews. As the remarks came to be more and more cruel in their effect, ''A'' noted that the two Jewish students ate very little. Occasionally they absented themselves from the dining-room.

The situation was finally precipitated into one of outward antagonism and friction when the two Jewish students arose from the table in the midst of the meal, faced their chief tormentors with anger, expressed their feelings in no uncertain terms, and left the room. Following their departure, the discussion at the table revolved about the desire to punish the

[1] The Survey for September 15, 1922.

Jews for what was thought to be their effrontery. "A" alone intimated that their action was justified, but his opinion did not prevail.

The incident was soon spread about the campus, and naturally at every telling it became enlarged and so interpreted as to mean that the Jews has insulted the gentiles. This anti-Jew feeling was heightened by the known opposition to "foreign students" on the part of a popular college official. There was talk of driving the "foreigners" off the campus, and by this time the term "foreigners" was used to include Negroes, Japanese, Chinese, and other non-American students.

"A" at this point related the incidents which had led to the friction to a professor who was known to have liberal feeling toward foreign students. As a result of these discussions, it was decided to call a meeting of all foreign students to discuss the situation. Succeeding meetings were held until it became apparent that a permanent organization of all foreign students might be helpful. During this period a few minor frictions occurred, but the intense emotional excitement diminished. The foreign students called their organization the Cosmopolitan Club and soon began to hold open meetings at which noted foreign speakers appeared. The membership in the club was later increased so that a certain proportion (one-half) of the members were Americans. The meetings attracted considerable attention, offered an opportunity for the foreign students to regain their self-respect and standing in the college community, and incidentally provided an educational forum for dissipating misunderstandings. When it became known that there were over thirty foreign students in the student-body, this fact was even used as publicity on behalf of the college. No violence was done, and the foreign students gained a respected position in the community.

Frictions within the Cosmopolitan Club later developed. An Egyptian student made certain objections to the Negro members. These later frictions, however, are not germane to the case under discussion and hence will not be treated further.

Were the conditions under which the students were obliged to eat their meals in any way responsible for the friction that developed? Would the situation have been avoided if the Jewish students had conformed to the eating customs of the

Americans? Could they have conformed to them? Was the anti-foreign sentiment of the college official an important factor? How was the faculty involved?

Why did an organization of foreign students help to establish a position for individual foreigners? Could the same result have been achieved by other means?

127. A Cosmopolitan Club is supposed to make no discrimination between varying shades of color. Thus there was nothing peculiar about the fact that X., a Negro student at the University of . . . , was a member of its Cosmopolitan Club. Nor was it surprising that he was well liked; he was light in color, a soloist at an aristocratic old Negro church and much in demand as a singer at other churches, quiet, well-groomed. He belonged to what is sometimes called the "radical" group of Negroes—though now condemned as too conservative by others—who feel that the race has not been given a fair chance and pin their faith in a policy of asserting its rights instead of submitting to racial discrimination.

At one of the club's social affairs, the Negro student brought with him a young Negro woman of his own caliber and danced with her but did not ask any one else for a dance. At some of the next dances, another Negro couple, of the same type, accompanied the first couple, and they danced with each other; but none of the quartet approached other people with the request for a dance.

The secretary of the club was a young native American boy of Irish descent. There were Filipino, Chinese, Japanese and Indian, besides many European members; yet there was quite a bit of discussion about the Negro in the club. Some of the foreign students were afraid the Americans would not approve of their club and withdraw their support if it did not recognize the American prejudice against Negroes which the members themselves did not share. The president of the club, a Filipino, did not agree with this view and he was very loath to take action toward the elimination of the Negro, for whom he personally had a high regard.

The secretary, however, without consulting any one, took advantage of a ruling which had only recently been made that members behind in their dues could be dropped. Without requesting the Negro to bring his dues up to date, he simply

notified him that he was dropped from the club for nonpayment of dues. The Filipino president went to the Negro student and talked the matter over. The Negro was perfectly aware of the fact that the matter of dues was merely a subterfuge and why he had been dropped.

The attitude of the French-speaking group was that although it was a dangerous thing to discuss color lines in a club of that nature, due regard must be had for American prejudices, or other members of the club would suffer personally by losing the favor of Americans.

The general upshot of the discussion was the conviction that students of different races or nationalities could mingle on an intellectual basis, but that controversial questions arose out of the social mingling of all these club members. The following year a strong faculty adviser was chosen who, so the report ends, seemed to be able to guide the officers and governing members of the Cosmopolitan Club past these difficulties without further disasters.

128. Mary Thompson, a student in a midwestern university, was a great advocate of democracy. When her sorority sisters criticized her for associating with girls outside the sorority she replied that she would choose her friends where she pleased, and that if the sorority did not like it she would tender her resignation.

Miss Thompson was elected president of the Sociology Club, a group open to all students who satisfied certain scholastic requirements. She then abandoned the club's former policy of having its meetings announced in the university daily and in the sociology classes, but had word circulated privately. She did this so that colored students should not be given the opportunity of attending these meetings as they had done in previous years.

The teachers of the department knew what Miss Thompson was doing, and why. They did not remonstrate, believing that it was undesirable to provoke a discussion on race relations, which, they argued, might cause feeling; the university might get a bad name for being "radical" on the race question and be affected adversely when the legislature next considered its budget.

One teacher was not satisfied with this attitude but felt that his efforts to teach tolerance and inter-racial good-will were frustrated by the apathy or hostility of his associates. The colored students soon learned what was going on. Their confidence in their teachers was reduced; they felt that the faculty's professions of democracy were insincere.

Was Mary Thompson's reputation for democracy undeserved? What does the writer of this incident mean by democracy? Do you agree with that definition? Is it possible to be perfectly democratic in one's relations to one group and yet refuse to mix with other groups on the ground that they are inferior?

Is there a distinction between attendance at college and membership of a club at college? Is a club a club unless its members have complete freedom in choosing new members? Is this what happened in the case told?

Did Mary Thompson in a "tactful" way get rid of the problem involved in the antagonism of some of her friends to persons of color? Would there have been worse antagonism if the discussions anticipated by some members of the faculty had taken place? Would the presence of colored girls in a sociology club necessarily bring with it a discussion of race relations? Why were these girls at a white college?

129. A sociology teacher in a midwestern state university used to seat her students alphabetically. At the close of a period in which she had seated a class in this manner a white girl asked to have her seat changed. "I am sitting beside a colored girl." "Is she personally offensive? Does she annoy you?" the teacher asked. "No, but she is colored," was the reply. The teacher tried without avail to reason with the student. At the end she said that she could not fairly change the seats, whereupon the white girl dropped the course.

A similar request was made to another teacher under practically identical circumstances. He said to the girl who complained, "I am going to change your seat, not because I think you are right, but because I do not believe that requiring you to keep that seat will make you see colored people in a different light. I do believe, however, that if you take another seat and stay in the class you may learn from what is said in the

course about race, and from seeing this colored girl as a member of this class, things which will make you change your mind."

Why did the first white student refuse to sit beside a colored girl? Could her attitude have been changed by the action taken in the second case? What would be your reaction to a speech like that made by the second teacher? Would the girl's attitude have been changed in the course of the semester if her wish had been granted without discussion?

130. At a certain university in New Mexico there were not over a dozen Mexican students, all of them apparently of good family and in no way "undesirable." Yet, the university community, accustomed to see Mexicans live in dirt and squalor around the town, did not make the complete distinction between the students with the social environment to which they belonged and these laboring people with their environment, a distinction which it would have made among different classes of native Americans. As a result, the Mexican students, while no one refused to speak to them, were completely left out of the social life of the university. A woman student, asked by one of these Mexican students to go to a school dance with him, refused to do so, not because she did not like him but because she felt that her social career would be ruined if she did not at least appear to share the common prejudice.

Several years ago, the president of the university called into conference the representatives of all the fraternities and asked them why two students who were half-breed Mexicans were not taken in by any one of them. Each fraternity tried to shift the blame, and the brothers were left out in the cold as before. More recently the president, realizing that none of the Mexican students were members of a fraternity or sorority, sanctioned the formation of a new sorority on the express understanding that this sorority was going to take in some Mexican students.

What relation do the various illustrations given in this section have to conditions outside the college? Must educational institutions reckon with the sentiment of the community? Which community—that surrounding them or that from which the students come, if the students come from different parts

of the country? Must a student expect to find different standards at college from those accustomed to at home?

Attitudes Toward Teachers

A few examples will briefly illustrate problems that arise from the reflection of race traditions on attitudes toward teachers. The first two examples deal with teachers of the supposedly inferior racial group, the other two with teachers found guilty of interesting themselves in the education of such a group.

131. A teacher of sociology in a midwestern college was giving a course on race problems. Among other outside speakers who appeared before the class was a young colored woman, a trained and experienced case-worker, who spoke on housing conditions among the colored people of the community in which the college was located. A few days after she had appeared before the class, the president of the college received a letter stating, "You ought to know that you have a class in your college, taught by a colored woman, in which intermarriage is being advocated." The note was signed, "Two Indignant Mothers." As a matter of fact, the colored woman had said nothing on the subject of intermarriage, nor had the subject of intermarriage been discussed up to that time in the course.

As a result of this incident, the teacher is now very hesitant to use the best means at his disposal for getting to his students the facts to which they are entitled in a course on race problems.

Did the letter writers tell a deliberate untruth? How is the news of what happened in that class likely to have come to them? May the lecturer in discussing housing conditions have said anything that suggested to some students the subject of intermarriage? Were they looking for such allusions?

132. A well known Negro theologian received an invitation to speak before a college Y. M. C. A. in the Middle West on the subject of race relations. After he had accepted this invitation, anxious to make any contribution which lay within

his power toward a better mutual understanding between white and colored Americans, the president of the Y. M. C. A. wrote him again, acknowledging his letter and incidentally telling him that theirs was "a town that prides itself on the fact that it will not allow a Negro to stay in town over night." He added that those in the Y. M. C. A. did not feel that this attitude was democratic and would like to bring about a more friendly relation.

Under the circumstances it was difficult for the professor to back out in spite of a certain anxiety as to his reception created by this letter. He was given a most courteous hearing. Only one of the questions asked at the end of the lecture suggested that a veiled reference of the speaker to the Ku Klux Klan was not enthusiastically received. The lecturer did not stay over night to test the hospitality of town or college. He was surprised, however, that not even a gesture of interest in his convenience was made, and that he did not receive a word either of thanks for his effort or of denunciation—not to speak of inquiries as regards expenses incurred, which happened to be heavy, since, to keep the engagement, he had been obliged to stay for two days in the nearest large city.

133. Mr. Burgess, an attractive young graduate of a northern university, went south to teach in a college for Negro youth. On the Sunday morning after he took up his duties he went to a large church in the town. At the close of the service he was greeted most cordially by many persons in the congregation. They showed marked interest in the stranger and made him feel welcome in their midst. In the course of his conversation with them Mr. Burgess remarked that he had come to Mariaville to teach in Alpha College. Immediately the conversation lagged, though he did not comprehend till later that the fact had marked significance.

Next Sunday Mr. Burgess returned to the church and took a seat in the pew which he had occupied before. Presently another man entered the pew, sat down, and then hastily rose and went to another part of the church. Mr. Burgess sat alone in a pew surrounded by other empty pews. After the service he was ignored by every one. He never again returned to that church.

134. An American of Italian birth and his American-born wife came to San Francisco from the East. He was in business and his wife was a teacher of elocution and dramatics. Asked by a social agency to teach a Japanese girl who had shown marked dramatic talent, she gladly assented.

One day this woman noticed in the parlor of the hotel where she was staying that an American woman with whom she had had some friendly chats turned abruptly away and cut her. She went up to her and asked for an explanation. "I have heard that you have a Japanese pupil," replied the other. "And why," asked the easterner in astonishment, "should my having a Japanese pupil prevent you from speaking to me?" "Because I don't like Japanese." "What reason have you for disliking the Japanese?" "I don't know, ——," replied the one-time friend, evidently searching for a good reason; "but I hate the Japanese and"—with a vicious inflection and sweeping out of the room, "and I hate Italians."

Why did the southern community object to Mr. Burgess? What attitude toward himself and his work had he expected? Was he likely to fare better in another church of the same town?

What is likely to have been the effect of the various rebuffs administered in these incidents to teachers of foreign groups on the subsequent effectiveness of their work?

Can occasional lectures by members of the despised group contribute anything to the education of the dominant group which its regular leader cannot supply himself?

Find the real motive, so far as the sketchy account permits, for the action of the California woman. Did she really hate Japanese people, or did she only hate having them taught? Do you like moral delinquents? Would you cut an acquaintance on discovering that he or she was teaching such persons? Is that a parallel situation to that described in example No. 134?

After College—What?

To complete this chapter, a little thought should be given to the attitudes toward persons of an assumedly inferior race

who have succeeded in acquiring an education and try to make use of it, sometimes only for their own benefit, often also with the major aim of helping in the advancement of their own group.

135. In a southern city, a young East Indian who had graduated from one of the American universities, went to the public library to spend the afternoon reading. He was refused admittance. He told the chief librarian that he was from India and that he was a graduate of an American university. But his explanation did not help him. Not only was he not admitted but he was warned never to come to the library again.

136. A colored college student returned to his home after spending the year at a college in Atlanta. Several white boys met him on the street and said to him: "Since you are one of them college niggers, don't you think all the niggers ought to be in slavery?" When the colored boy told them that if slavery was so desirable they themselves might go into slavery voluntarily, they threatened him. Since that time he has not been able to return to his home. His family has moved to the North.

137. A colored college professor went to a hotel in a southern city to bring a foreign visitor out to his school. Three white men sitting in the lobby told him to take off his hat. He refused to do so as all the other men in the lobby had their hats on. The three men threatened him with violence. The clerk asserted his neutrality in the affair. The colored man left the hotel.

138. A northern professional man temporarily residing in the South made the acquaintance of a very light mulatto, a graduate of the same college, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, a man of unusual attainments and culture, connected with one of the southern colleges for Negroes. Though they met frequently during two years and the colored man had a charming, cultured wife and delightful home, he felt unable to offer the white man the hospitality of his home. Both men at their college or anywhere in the North would without question have met in each other's homes. But because of the effect

which the acceptance of his hospitality would have on the other's social position in this southern community, the colored man refrained from extending it.

Why the antagonism to educated colored men displayed in these examples? Is it identical with the antagonism to men of the despised race who have been economically successful; or is a somewhat different factor involved in these cases?

The topics discussed in this chapter invite a number of major considerations of education in its relation to racial attitudes.

Is there, in America, a widespread general attitude of jealousy between different racial groups, expressing itself in the denial of educational opportunities? Or is such denial, where it exists, based on a sense of economy, the belief that to try and educate certain races is wasted effort? Or is it based on dislike of increased personal contacts with members of the supposedly inferior races?

Is educational segregation necessarily discriminatory as regards opportunities provided? Can the educational apparatus of a modern community easily be duplicated, so as to make it available to two racial groups? Do you know of communities where there are at least three racial groupings for each of which separate provision would have to be made to ensure equal opportunities (as, for instance, Whites, Negroes and American Indians)? Is this economically practicable?

Does non-segregation of children of different races ensure equal educational opportunities? Can race be eliminated as a factor in the school system if it remains an important factor in the social attitudes of the community? Are there many parents who want the schools to be democratic but who want rigorously to limit the associations of their children out of school? Are they primarily thinking of race divisions when they forbid their children to play, say, with Armenians or with Jews? Of cultural divisions? Is the cultural influence

of the home hampered by indiscriminate associations of the child on street and playground but not by such associations in school?

Can people be expected to vote schools for the children of another race when those available for their own children are as yet inadequate? Do people refuse to vote school bonds because the school to be erected is in another part of town and will not immediately benefit their own children? What do you think of this argument: "Better teachers and a longer school term for white children in the South will do more for the colored people just now than schools for Negroes?"

Supposing one racial group were mentally much inferior to the dominant group in the community; would it be likely to benefit from concentration of educational opportunities upon children of the dominant group? What would happen if in your community better schools and teachers were provided for the bright children and the dull ones were sent home or to work?

Is it possible for a racial group to rise culturally through efforts made on its behalf? Do the various Christian denominations and philanthropic organizations which support institutions for the training of Negro teachers counteract an invigorating experience of self-education on the part of the Negro race? What is the effect of their action on the white South?

Are there colleges especially adjusted to the particular needs of colored or foreign-born students? What are their particular needs? Is association with native white Americans one of them? Can Negroes get just as good a higher education in Negro institutions?

Are our colleges becoming less American through the influx of children of foreign-born parents? What do you mean by American? Of what special values, if any, do the older

educational institutions believe themselves to be the custodians? Are these merely imaginary values? Can cultural values be preserved by a system of exclusion?

What part does the fear of intermarriage play in the antagonism displayed in some of the examples to the equalization of educational opportunities, or to the non-segregation of races in education? Is there any clear division of race policies behind the various forms of segregation or partial or non-segregation to be found in American education?

CHAPTER VI

Social Handicaps

See note on top of page 1

It is sometimes argued that the injustices of the handicaps imposed on different racial groups in our American life lie in the transference of distinctions which are perfectly proper in social intercourse to relationships in which they are not proper, such as legal status or educational and vocational opportunities. It is argued that what is wrong is not the existence of a line of division between races, but that this line instead of being vertical, assuring to each full self-development, is horizontal, depriving one race of the opportunities enjoyed by another and assigning to it a definitely inferior status in society. The present section should be studied especially with that difference in mind: Can social distinctions be maintained without unjust educational, civic and vocational distinctions? Or, to put it another way, does the gradual eradication of the obstacles to a full self-development necessarily involve the complete extinction of *all* differences and a social intermingling of all groups?

Housing

We will start with the most effectual form of social discrimination, that of coercive segregated housing.

139. A southern college for Negroes some years ago had bought a piece of land which was separated from the campus by the grounds of a hospital, not a part of the institution but on friendly relations with it.

A dilapidated old mansion which was on the land was torn down, the grounds were regraded and reseeded with grass, and plans were drawn for a group of dwelling houses

for married teachers in the form of a hollow square opening away from the street. Then work was begun on the first of the cottages.

When the question came up as to who should occupy it, the choice fell upon a white teacher and his wife, an elderly couple much respected by every one, who had expressed a desire to keep house so that they might on occasion entertain guests for the school. Because of ill health, however, while the house was still under construction, they had to give up the idea of housekeeping and their claim to the cottage.

The next family on the list was a colored family, the man a graduate of the institution, now holding an important office in it, with an attractive, sensible wife and two children. The responsible committee and the head of the school agreed that this family was most entitled to the new home, which was accordingly assigned to them, and they made their preparations to move into it as soon as it would be finished.

A few months before that date, the president received a letter, courteously but quite positively phrased, from a white citizen who lived across the street from the land under development, protesting against the assignment of the new house to a colored family. The institution, which for many years had been living on the most friendly relations with its neighbors, replied that the house had been quite definitely assigned and that no change in its disposition could be made unless in view of the protestant's attitude the prospective tenant preferred to relinquish his claim upon it.

This proved to be the case. The colored officer and his family had no desire to fight the matter out, though they were told quite plainly by the school authorities that legally and morally they were entitled to the house and that, if they wished to stand upon their rights, the school would see the matter through. The house was assigned to another white family of the staff, and the colored officer and his family have since had an even better house built for them on the campus, which they are now occupying in peace and happiness.

It was made quite plain to the man who offered the protest that the school would not consider a policy of excluding colored people permanently from the tract in question. He on

his part explained that there would be no objection, on his own part or that of other neighbors, if after all the houses were completed and most of them first filled with white families, one or two Negro families were to occupy some of those houses later. It was the proposal to install a Negro family on a site previously occupied by a prominent white family that had aroused resentment. Other white neighbors added that there would have been less likelihood of a protest if the site had been more evidently a part of the campus instead of being separated from it by the hospital site.

Why was the residence of a colored family in this new development resented? Why did the objector withdraw his objection in case that white families first occupied the new dwellings?

140. Mr. P., a rising young business man, refined, with a love of the out-of-doors, was asked why he was trying to sell his house in a suburban community. He had bought the house only about two years before and made a nice home there with his wife and three young children. There seemed to be no reason why he should want to leave. He said, for one thing, they could not get any help, except persons of the shiftless type who come and go. A Mrs. T. was mentioned to him, a widow living in the neighborhood who made it a practice to come in and look after the household of servantless women when they wanted to go off for a day and leave some one in charge. He said they had tried to get Mrs. T., but she had mentioned the prohibitive charge of $2.50 an hour; she went to other people's houses for $.75 an hour, and he had been informed by one of the neighbors that the difference in her rates was due to her dislike of Jews and her desire not to offend by a direct refusal.

Mr. P. said his wife had been brought up among gentiles and all her friends were gentiles. Nearly every one in the neighborhood seemed to like her, and people were pleasant to him, too. Neighbors often came in to borrow something or other, or ask for some other slight favor, but they made no social advances. One neighbor had come in to sell him tickets for a dance of the tennis club. When he expressed an interest in the club he was told that unfortunately he could not be invited to join; of course there was no objection whatever

to him or Mrs. P., but there was a strong prejudice against Jews among some of the members, and any ten of them could blackball a candidate for membership. A new social club was started to which practically all the women in the street were invited; Mrs. P. was not asked to join but was told in confidence that the members had nothing against her but were afraid that if she joined other Jewish women would have to be invited too. Although practically every property owner in the neighborhood belonged to the local improvement association, Mr. P. had not, during the two years of his residence, been asked to join or invited to attend a meeting.

He said he personally did not mind being ostracized, as he had plenty of pleasant social relationships in the city, but it was not very nice for his wife who, because of the children, was obliged to spend almost all of her time at home and who was the more affected by the attitude of the neighbors since she had never experienced anything like it before. He was going to get out if he could do so without too much loss.

Would the antagonism to the P. family have died down, had they stuck it out a little longer? Were they foolish to expect neighborliness in a gentile neighborhood? Is it likely that admission of Mrs. P. to the social club would have swamped the club with membership applications by and on behalf of undesirable Jews?

141. A. and his wife were born in Italy and have four children, all of them born in America. Having prospered in the country of his adoption, A. moved with his wife and two children, aged twenty and twenty-two, into an apartment in an exclusive neighborhood. He obtained a year's lease for this apartment. When at the end of the year he wished to renew it, the landlord refused the application, saying that many complaints had been made by other tenants and neighbors that A. was a "foreigner," and that the food cooked in the apartment produced a bad odor which penetrated into other apartments.

Moreover, he, the landlord, did not wish it to be known that he had rented an apartment to Italians, because this would certainly depreciate the value of the building and the neighborhood. The landlord was very courteous and concluded by saying that he knew that A. and his family were nice in man-

ners and appearance; but, he said, he could not very well "explain them" to every one in the neighborhood and he could not afford to renew the lease.

142. The Italian Government was about to open a sub-consulate in the city of Portland, and Signor V. was assigned to the post of Vice-Consul. He was a man of fine and keen intelligence, tall and pleasing in appearance, and a gentleman in every sense of the word. He had a very attractive wife, and I believe, two children. In keeping with his position, Signor V. naturally desired to live in a good section of the city. Knowing that I had an entree into some American circles, he asked me to help him find a suitable residence. I was glad of this opportunity, for this was exactly the kind of service that I cared to render. I assured him that we would certainly be able through some of our friends to find a desirable dwelling for him and his family.

We started on our hunt, in the majority of cases Signor V. accompanying me. We went to real estate agents, to friends, and to houses having the "For Rent" sign up, but everywhere we were turned down. It was exceedingly embarrassing for me, for I had assured my friend that in a brief time we would be able to find something for him. I could not understand what the difficulty was. There were some houses which the Vice-Consul could have had, but they were located in undesirable parts of the community and were generally unattractive.

Finally I discovered that the chairman of the Committee which was in charge of the Mission I was serving had a house for rent. Immediately I went to him, feeling assured that if anybody in the whole city would make it possible for the Vice-Consul to have a decent place to live in, he would. I called on him only to find that even the chairman of the Committee was not ready to rent a house to the Italian Vice-Consul.

"And why?" I asked, almost in anger. "Because the neighbors would object to having an Italian (pronouncing the 'I' long) next door to them." Then for the first time I understood what the difficulty had been. I was greatly chagrined and Signor V. was greatly humiliated, and was finally

obliged to locate in one of the worst sections of the city, in the midst of the Italian colony.[1]

143. Mr. Anderson, a well-to-do Negro contractor, purchased a fine home in a desirable residential section of a northern city. When the white neighbors heard of this they offered to buy the property from him at an advance in price. They argued that he should not live in a neighborhood where he was not wanted. Mr. Anderson replied that he certainly did not wish to force his company upon persons who did not care for it, but he did not feel that in buying and occupying a home he was doing that. He intended to mind his own business and not molest his neighbors in any way, but he saw no reason for selling his new home.

For many months after he occupied the house Mr. Anderson was subjected to all sorts of persecution. His lawn was frequently strewn with tin cans and other rubbish, for instance, and he received letters threatening to blow up the house. Through all this time Mr. Anderson maintained a dignified quiet. Gradually the neighbors came to realize that neither he nor his family was offensive. They did not give noisy parties or otherwise disturb the neighborhood. On the contrary, they were improving the property by setting out shrubs and beautifying it in other ways. As a result hostility became less active. It did not altogether cease.

The following two examples should be read together, since they illustrate the connection between segregation and differentiation in rents and prices charged members of "undesirable" racial groups. The first was gathered by the Philadelphia Health Council and Tuberculosis Committee in 1922, the second is told by Bernard J. Newman, managing director of the Philadelphia Housing Association:

144. We are told that many colored people, such as physicians, nurses, social workers, cannot buy a house suitable to live in, because houses that are comfortable and habitable would not be sold to them because of their color. Also it is a fact that in many real estate offices the agents tell colored

[1] Constantine M. Panunzio, The Soul of an Immigrant. Macmillan Co., 1921, p. 205.

people that they cannot rent houses in certain neighborhoods, neighborhoods many of them now thickly settled by Negroes.

Approximately ten years ago a colored minister bought a house at 51st and Chestnut Streets. He purchased the house from white people. People living in the neighborhood stoned the property, and in other ways attacked the property. The colored purchaser never moved in, but resold the property to white people. He bought a house later at 42nd Street and Powelton Avenue.

A colored probation officer employed by the city bought a house at 36th and Ellsworth Streets. People in the neighborhood entered the house and took her silver and linen. They were openly hostile to her. She, however, still lives in the house she bought. In September, 1923, two colored nurses bought a house on Cumberland Street in the 2400 block. People in the neighborhood broke the windows, disconnected the bath tub, turned on the water in the house, wrote K. K. K. on the wall and woodwork. These colored nurses, I believe, are still living in the house they bought. Recently a Negro bought a house on 26th and York Streets. Before he moved in, he received a number of threatening letters, but nevertheless he moved in, and announced his intention of living there with the protection of a rifle.

It is an occasional thing for a colored person who is very light to do the preliminary work in renting a house, even going so far as to sign a lease for colored people who would otherwise not have been able to rent the property.

The colored people say that the people with the most prejudice against them seem to be the Irish and that the Italians seem to be tolerant. I am told in such districts as Christian Street, between 19th and the Schuylkill, the Irish were in possession within the past ten years, but that now Negroes have taken this district. In turn they are being forced out by the Italians, who are buying the property.

While these instances are more indicative of racial prejudice than the housing conditions, they do show the housing difficulties presented to Negro families. It is very difficult for them to move to better themselves, and the persons owning property tenanted by Negroes are aware of this.

145. On January 7th, 1924, an inspection was made at 1942 N. 21st Street. At that time, the house was occupied by three *white* American families, one of which was renting the house for $60 a month, and subletting one room on the second floor for $20 a month and two rooms on the third floor for $25 a month. In April, 1924, an inspector found the house occupied by three *colored* families, each paying rent separately to the agent. The first floor now pays $45 a month, the second pays $12.50 a week or $56.25 a month, and the third floor $12.50 a week or $56.25 a month, making the total rent from the house $157.50.[1]

Is the purpose of the high rents charged Negroes and foreigners to make a maximum profit or to keep out a race considered undesirable? What was the effect of a large flood of Negro laborers and their families from the South on the Philadelphia situation?

Do you know of similar situations in other cities? Would a general housing program, ensuring an adequate number of homes for the total population, suffice to prevent rent profiteering? Would white people willingly vacate blocks when Negroes or foreigners come in if homes equally good or better were available elsewhere?

Public Conveyance

Closely related to the matter of housing is that of transportation. In the examination of the causes that had led to the Chicago riots, for instance, it was found that the massing of the Negro population in a few central sections of the

[1] It is pertinent, says Mr. Newman, while considering rental rates in relation to Negro tenants, to say that we have not hitherto found rental rates in areas occupied by both Negroes and whites appreciably higher for the former. We have made three comprehensive surveys in the past in such areas. However, in December, 1923, when our last rent study was made, we did find that Negro rentals had increased more than rentals for white families of the same economic grade. This, I believe, is due more to the extraordinary recent influx of Negroes and is a reaction to the housing shortage rather than racial prejudice. There are individual cases, of course, where prejudice reacts against expansion of the Negro population.

city meant an enormous amount of travelling to and from work on street cars and friction resulting, in part at least, from the crowding in the cars.[1]

146. When the car came within the thickly settled portion of the city it was fairly well filled with white people and Negroes. A sign prominently displayed allotted the front of the car to the whites and the rear to the blacks. No special line denoting the point of separation was apparent, but the matter seemed to be generally understood, and the rear of the car was crowded with Negroes while several seats were unoccupied in the forward part.

A Negro man and woman, apparently husband and wife, entered the car. The man presented the appearance of a prosperous business or professional man. He was a light mulatto, well dressed and dignified in manner; and his wife, even lighter in complexion than he, tall and dignified in bearing, was, with one exception, easily the best attired and most distinguished-looking woman in the car. Although in general appearance a member of the white race, she was nevertheless compelled by the "Jim Crow" regulations to undergo the humiliation of standing among a crowd of ordinary Negro laborers in the rear of the car, debarred by the iron rule of caste from availing herself of one of the unoccupied seats.[2]

Few people who have not observed them realize the difficulties, expense and hardships involved in the southern segregations in railroad travel.

147. A woman student writes:

Have any of you seen a "Jim Crow" car? In case you have not, let me describe one. A year ago I was returning from a certain southern town to the city of W. At a junction in North Carolina it was necessary for me to enter the Jim Crow car. The car was up next to the engine and was only about half the length of a regular coach. Up

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[1] This condition has not yet been substantially changed; and distressing stories of race friction occasioned by crowding of public conveyances come from Chicago.

[2] William P. Pickett, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

over the door was a placard with the word "colored" printed on it. The car was very filthy and the air was nauseating. You had to get on the car the best way you could as there was not any step to help you on. On entering the car I looked around for a decent place in which to sit—as I did not see any, I purchased a paper from a newsboy who was passing outside and covered the seat. In one corner of the coach there were two brakemen smoking some very cheap cigars; a third conductor was chewing a wad of tobacco and reading a newspaper, while at regular intervals he tried to see how far he could spit. A colored woman in another part of the car was alternating eating peanuts, bananas and oranges. Imagine the air full of the odor of peanuts, oranges, bananas and coal and tobacco smoke.

I was in this car for about five hours. Finally we came to a station where I had to change cars. I entered the station and went to the ticket agent and asked when the train was due for W. As the man did not answer, I thought that he had not heard and asked the question the second time. At this he looked up and said in a rather exasperated manner, "Damn it, I don't know. It may come in three hours and it may come in six. Just wait until it does." I turned away. Just behind me there was a white man who asked the same question. I heard the ticket agent say in a very courteous manner that the train was due in four hours, but that it was usually an hour or so late.

It was then eight P. M. and I was tired and hungry. I looked around for a place in which to eat. The waiter in the small, dingy dining room told me that there was a place in the rear for colored patrons, and that one entered by a side door. I walked out and went around to the rear of the building. I entered a very dirty little room. Two tables were pushed up against the wall, the floor was covered with cigar stubs and other filth. I turned away in disgust as I could not eat there. I went into the station again and decided to make the best of everything. I took a book from my bag and tried to forget my discomfort in reading.

148. At the time of the war a northern colored man was commissioned in the U. S. Army. He was ordered to proceed to the School of Fire at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Since the jour-

ney to Fort Sill would take several days, he naturally took a Pullman sleeping-car. At a small town in Oklahoma, although wearing the uniform of an officer of the U. S. Army, he was dragged from the train, beaten, thrown into jail, fined next morning for disturbing the peace and sent out of town on the Jim Crow car.

149. An elderly colored woman of Oklahoma was in very poor health. She was directed by her physician to go to St. Louis to consult a specialist. A white friend bought a Pullman ticket for her and her daughter, upon condition that both would remain in their drawing-room with the door closed and shades down till the train reached St. Louis. After the train had gone a number of miles it stopped at a division point and the train crews were changed. When the new conductor went through the car he rapped on the drawing-room door. The daughter opened the door just a crack and pushed out the tickets. The conductor insisted upon entering, however, to make sure that there were not more than two persons in the room. A few minutes later a number of men came in from a day coach, gave the women a tongue-lashing and allowed them two minutes in which to collect their belongings and start forward to the Jim Crow car.

Do you enjoy traveling? Would you enjoy it under the circumstances described by the woman student? Does the Jim Crow law, where it operates, narrow the Negro's opportunities of education? Of trade? Is it a safeguard against intimate association between whites and Negroes? Is it convenient for the white traveler? Could regulations be made to prevent the special hardships described in these examples? Would they work? Do such hardships as told in the last example necessarily result from segregation in passenger traffic?

Breaking Bread

Many persons declare that they can trade, argue, work, weep, laugh and pray with those of another race, but that they cannot eat with them. Indeed, the breaking of bread, whether because of some inherent psychological factor difficult to isolate or because of association with religious concepts, has become a sort of symbolical act of intimacy which

in many cases is the last bulwark of segregation when all other defenses have fallen. Here are some typical experiences:

150. A party of delegates to a national convention entered one of the more modest restaurants in Washington. A Negro was a member of the party. A waiter took the order but was a long time in carrying it out. Finally, the manager of the restaurant came to speak to a white member of the party. "Is the Negro your guide?" he asked. "If not, he cannot eat with you in this restaurant." The white man indignantly replied that the Negro was his friend—although he had only met him a little while before; and the whole party marched out.

151. An East Indian who attended a religious convention in Washington a few years ago, among other incidents, tells the following: One day he walked into a cheap restaurant and ordered milk and sandwiches. After a while the waiter came back with the sandwiches but brought no milk. To an inquiry about the milk, he replied, "We cannot sell you milk." The Indian thought this curious and asked whether there was a general boycott on milk in the national capital because of some dispute with the dairy men or whether there was some peculiar sanitary regulation under which restaurants were deprived of the privilege of selling this wholesome beverage. The waiter told him that if he went around the corner and half-way up the block, he would find a restaurant that would sell him milk.

After more questions by the Indian, whose curiosity had become thoroughly aroused by his air of mystery, the waiter at last confessed that in a white restaurant they were not supposed to sell to colored people—though he seemed inclined to think it rather a silly regulation. The Indian then explained that he was not a Negro and showed him his delegate's badge, telling who he was. Now the waiter profusely apologized. But what must have been his feelings when, before leaving, his customer declared: "Well, I am an Indian—but I'm a colored man for all that—as you can see!"

152. The young woman had just received her M. A. degree that day, so she and her husband decided that for once they

would go out for dinner to celebrate. She went ahead and ordered the dinner as her husband was delayed somewhat at the office.

The restaurant was a large and beautiful one, and she was glad that this, their first "bat" since they had come to town, was to take place here. She looked around, and as she did so she saw her husband at the door. However, the head waiter had stopped him and they were talking. Soon the head waiter came toward her, while her husband waited at the door.

"I am very sorry, madam, but you see,—" he hesitated—"when *you* came in, we did not know. But your husband,—he is so dark. We thought *you* were Cuban." The man was very red now, and the girl's light mulatto cheeks were crimson too. Without a word, she went to the door to join her husband.

Together they walked down the street, silent and unhappy. The fun of the "bat" was gone, gone the joy of the M. A., in a world where the color of faces was paramount.

153. The staff of a social agency in an eastern city were in the habit of lunching together at the office. When a colored worker joined the staff, it did not occur to the head executive to exclude the newcomer from this privilege or even to mention the matter in advance. So when the colored social worker sat down to lunch with the others, there was a distinct feeling of resentment and of embarrassment. Owing to the unpleasantness of the situation, the staff luncheons were abandoned soon afterwards.

Since then white and colored social workers have worked together for several years under the auspices of this agency, and their professional contact has been a most pleasant and cordial one. Having learned to respect each other professionally, the workers of the two races have lately joined in staff picnics and other parties without any question of discrimination coming up at all even in private discussion.[1]

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[1] The executive attributes her failure in the first instance and her eventual success in securing a cordial relationship between the white and colored workers to the fact that it was a mistake to assume that social recognition could precede professional recognition.

What social connotations does sitting together at table have? [See also examples Nos. 25, 26, 27, 46, 93 and 126.] Does it lower the barriers of social status? Does it affect your appetite more to have an unpleasant person sit near, or to have him touch your food?

If people say that their appetite leaves them the moment a colored man sits down at their table but do not mind having their food prepared and served by colored men, are they necessarily insincere? How do you account for this seemingly irrational disparity of feeling?

What is your own feeling in the matter? Would you rather have a good meal in a Negro inn (assuming you are white) or a poor one in a white hostelry? Find the reason for your preference or lack of preference, on the basis of the discussion in the first two chapters.

Hotels

Segregation and exclusion policies in hotels must also be considered in this connection.

154. It was a morning in June when the telephone rang and Mrs. X. Y. Z., from N. Y. C., was on the wire. (Don't fret, her husband was right there.) In the course of conversation she inquired where did I intend to go for my vacation, and I answered, "To the same place that I went last summer."

"But," she immediately came back, "you can't go there."

"Why?" I inquired.

"Because they don't want any Jews there. And that is why we are not going there this year."

"But that is impossible," I asserted. "Who told you that?"

"I know that they have it on their circulars," was her parting warning.

I assured my friend that I would look into the matter and, unlike my customary promises, wrote to the hotel for my reservation that very evening. I had reason to believe that the answer of the proprietor would evince the policy of the house. The reply was cordial and courteous and not a word anywhere

to substantiate the claim that Jews were not wanted there. My estimate of myself then exceeded all bounds. I dreamed that ocean front and mountain top vied with each other for my pillow, but in wakefulness I waited patiently to take my dip in the sea.

At the hotel a few weeks later I found many of my friends of the year before—members of the same covenant. I felt convinced that the information imparted on the 'phone was empty rumor and gave it no more thought.

But truth will break through rocks.

I was sitting on a bench, watching the waves foam inward onto the shore, when the news came to me that the hotel did look with ill-favor upon Jewish patronage. This time from an eye-witness, who claimed to have seen it black on white. I told him that I would inquire personally into the matter and act accordingly.

In my conference with the hotel manager shortly after, I asked him point-blank, "Do you discriminate against Jews?"

"Yes!" he answered me unhesitatingly.

"Why?" was my next.

"To save my house from becoming a second-class hotel," he replied. Then big talk followed. "I am not prejudiced against the Jewish people," he assured me. "I have no race hatred. All the people are the same to me. They are all welcome to my house. But it is to my special interest to see that all my guests can be readily amalgamated into a wholesome, congenial, social group; that there are no colonies in the hotel proper, and that no finger is pointed at one another. This is impossible when you admit Jews indiscriminately. And that is exactly what happened last year.

"You remember," he said, as he pulled the chair toward me, "we had a good many Jewish families here last year. But they did not fit in. And I lost a good deal of the non-Jewish clientele on account of it. I was compelled, therefore, in self-defense, to take a stand in the matter, and this is our policy: Those people, Jews or non-Jews, whose presence here will create no friction, present no problem, accentuate no differences, are more than welcome. But that class of people which for one reason or another does not fit in and creates dis-

harmony, is unwelcome. Hence, those Jews whom we know and who are acceptable, we are more than glad to receive. Those we don't know, we advise when they apply that at this hotel 'Christian clientele is preferred.' You see, then, we have nothing against the Jews. It's not prejudice—it's business!''

''And I have nothing against you,'' I told him. ''Business is business. But you won't mind, I am sure,'' I added, ''if I leave this hotel for one where I will be spared the painful process of discovering what class of Jews I belong to!''

''But why should you leave?'' he inquired anxiously. ''You know quite well that you are welcome here.''

''Perhaps,'' I answered him. ''But I know that you discriminate against a certain class of Jewish people, and I know that you made a mistake in me. For I am just one of those discriminated against. And to save you from further embarrassment I'll move on to the next hotel where they take Jewish money indiscriminately!''

This out of my mouth, I ran up the stairs to the second floor, packed my grip, and came down to order a taxi to take me somewhere. At that time the manager asked me to grant him a few minutes to talk things over. We sank into two soft chairs, with the manager in the leading rôle, and thus he spoke:

''If I am blackballed from a lodge would that be reason for me to have a grudge against its members? If a country club would not have me as a member should I wage incessant warfare against it?'' I was ready to answer him. But he carried on. ''The Jews are a peculiar people. There is much that I admire in them. They possess traits not discernible in any other race that comes to America. In some respects they are unique, and still they create a problem.''

''What do you mean?'' I inquired.

''This is what I mean. The Jewish immigrant ripens in America before any other. He is a hot-house product. And this is perhaps the source of friction in America. He pushes himself forward more through his money than through his culture.''

That was rather a new discovery for me, and so I urged him on.

"An Italian, for example, comes to America," he continued, "and he remains in his colony eking out an existence. He seldom earns more than a livelihood and advances little above his immediate environment. The second generation is more 'American' than 'Italian.' The third is an Americanized product, and if he has money and is a gentleman he can mingle in the best of society. He has become, through a slow process, one of them. The same is true of the Irish, Greek, Pole, or any other element that seeks the shores of America. Only the third or fourth generation could possess the means, the wherewithal to travel in what we call 'good society.' To expect an Italian, for example, who reached America fifteen years ago, penniless and without the language of the land, to come to this hotel with his family for a summer vacation, is to expect the impossible. He could hardly have the means such an enterprise involves. Should he by accident become possessed of fortune he would know that he needs something more than money to meet people on an equal basis at a first-class summer hotel. He would, therefore, go to a hotel of his kind. But if, perchance, such guests should come here, and they would become a problem, the management would then be compelled in self-defense to answer such as might apply for rooms, 'American clientele is preferred.'

"By American clientele we do not mean, of course, only those who came over on the Mayflower and their patrician offspring. But we do mean a class of people who not only possess money but also manners, and whose habits are not incompatible with a huge bank account.

"But the Jew is different. And you must give the devil his due. He comes to America and begins to push. Whether it is a push-cart, a wagon, or a baby carriage matters not. He is constantly on the push. First it is the push-cart, then it is the retail store, then it is the department store, then it is the wholesale enterprise. First it is Grand Street, then it is Harlem, then it is the Bronx, then it is Riverside Drive, and the fashionable hotel for the summer. They push to make money and they push to spend it. This has been particularly evident in the last few years. Some of them made fortunes,

and the leading hotels became their Mecca. And you must have observed a good bit of it here last year. But while they are all able to meet the expenses of the hotel, they are at the same time unable to meet the social standards of such a house. And there is the rub. And so, when, in order to protect our own interests, we intimated to those we did not know that Christians are preferred, it was not with the intention to exclude Jews from this house, but to weed out some elements, to make them seek their own level. But why should you move? There is nothing against you!"

"Perhaps not. Nevertheless this being the policy of your house, I feel that I am *persona non grata* here."

"You *persona non grata?* Do you remember the letter I wrote when you asked for a room reservation? Would I have written you such a cordial letter had I not wanted you?"

"I do not doubt the sincerity of your motives and the legitimacy of your decision," I told him, "but I want you to know that I am a Jew with no trimmings. I belong to the lowest rank of my people and suffer with them in their exclusion. If the humblest of my people is unwelcome here I, too, am unwelcome. My place is not away from them, but with them. Hence I must go where they take Jewish money of all denominations."

In my walks along the beach I had observed a hotel in an adjoining resort situated right on the shore, and monopolized by "our people." So when the taximan asked me that very ancient and ever-new question, "Whither?"—my first thought was of that shore hotel which, for the lack of a more appropriate name, will be designated as "The Elite."

I found it a nice family hotel, engaged a room and within a few hours was comfortably resting there. The meals were not overly good; but "one does not live by bread alone." In the evening I observed a good many of our people there—young girls with high hopes and matronly wives with week-end husbands. I even met a friend of long standing. From him I learned the following incident concerning an exclusive hostelry thereabouts.

A few weeks before, a Jewish man, whose name and profession did not bear the Jewish trade-mark, wrote for and re-

served a suite of rooms. But when his wife and child, whose faces spoke a different language, came up to the desk and asked for the rooms reserved under that name, the hotel clerk told her very softly and culpably that she had better not register, that she might find the atmosphere not quite to her liking, that she would have to eat in a corner all by herself, that her people are generally not welcomed there, and that some mistake was made somewhere when the rooms were reserved. The woman burst into tears of humiliation. It was getting dark, and she felt alone with a little girl in a strange town, and so she pleaded with the clerk to let her stay over night. They granted her request.

When she came down, later on, dressed in her evening finery for dinner, appearing charming and attractive, the hotel clerk, seeing her, experienced a sense of remorsefulness and repentance. He came up to her and began to apologize. He did not know how to do it, but he wanted to say that she need not mind what he had said before. He had not meant her. She was different. They would let her stay at the hotel.

"I won't stay here after tonight if you pay me a thousand dollars a day," she answered, and silenced him.

"Pretty good for her," I said to my friend.

Was the hotel manager justified in his discrimination between Jew and Jew? Frankly speaking—Yes! Were I the owner of the hotel and if my bank account would tell me that I was losing first-class patronage because of second-class Jews that push their way in, I, too, would seek the remedy. Not every Jewish Tom, Dick and Harry is *persona grata* at your table in your home. How is he to become so in the fashionable dining-room of a first-class hotel?

But the real question is: Should the Jew frequent such a hotel or not? I know that some Jews will try their utmost to get into a hotel where only the elite of Jewry are tolerated. Still, I dare ask, will the Jew who finds his way to the desk of that hotel be mentally comfortable on his pillow at night when he knows that his less favored brother, because of the way the world wags, is *persona non grata* there?

Let us be frank and confess there is a type of Jew responsible for the existing conditions. Money is his goal, of course, and when he gets it he must buy himself into "Society." A first-class hotel for the summer is a good beginning. And so he comes there with a super-assurance that his money will pull him through. Did not he buy his place in the Card Club, and Golf Club, the self-same way?

But he forgets one thing: At all of these places the clientele is Jewish. Though he did not fit in, he remained there.

But it is a different matter at the hotel. The payment of the bill is not the only requirement. There are other obligations, and the chief of these is refinement—a quality as lacking as feathers on a goat to an obnoxious type of Jew who parades his ill-manners to the detriment of genteel people of the same faith. Unfortunately gentility cannot be acquired in business hours during a busy season, or through like meeting like. Not even through dividends. When these essentials are not achieved, the unpolished rich man appears very poor at the table, on the porch, in the smoking-room, even in the lavatory. Long live the amenities![1]

The following two incidents took place in the course of national conferences in which Negro participation has long been customary, though the great majority of members are white. Both were held at the national capital. Of the first of them we read:

155. Many sessions were held in hotels and the Negro delegates, of whom there were about seventy-five, began each day with a speculation. At one hotel a Negro woman social worker, a graduate, by the way, of the University of Michigan, and holding a responsible position in a large eastern city, was separated from a party of ladies on the eighth floor and told to take the freight elevator "by order of the management." She protested, but the male elevator attendant was insistent. Her companions also left the car and accompanied her down in the freight car. The management was satisfied, although none of the usual objections to the presence of a Negro in the passenger elevators seem to have been present. . . .

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[1] Harry R. Richmond in the Jewish Times, Baltimore, for July 28, 1922.

In still another hotel three Negroes entered an elevator in which were waiting a congressman and three ladies. The starter halted the car and called the house police. When the Negroes protested the order to vacate, the white occupants were asked to take another car, which they did, led by the congressman. A group of women observers of the incident then entered the car with the Negroes and insisted on staying.

At the second national conference, the ten Negro delegates who were on hand to take part in a discussion on Negro Migration Northward, with two exceptions either rode on the freight elevator or walked up the nine flights of stairs to the meeting. These two exceptions were allowed to go up in a passenger elevator when the starter satisfied himself that they were "with a white gentleman."

A colored professor was finally able to ride up on the elevator accompanied by a white member of the society. When he got on the elevator to come down the operator did not notice him until the third floor. He reversed the elevator and returned to the ninth floor. He ordered the colored man off. Upon the latter's refusal to comply, two passengers pitched him off the elevator and asked him why he did not return to the jungles of Africa. A policeman was called and forced the colored man down on the freight elevator. The society was unable to get the manager of the hotel to permit colored members to ride in the passenger elevator. So the conference moved down to the first floor.[1]

Is the treatment of the Negroes in the last example explained by the same reasons that account for that of Jews in the previous one?

Were the hotel proprietors' reasons for excluding Jews and making it unpleasant for Negroes good from the point of view of business?

What was the result of the summer-hotel proprietor's policy? Do such friendly explanations as those made in example No. 154 satisfy Jews that the discriminations made against them are perfectly right and proper? Does a certain class of

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[1] From Opportunity for June, 1923, and February, 1924, with additions from correspondence.

hotel or club have a special attraction for Jews because they exclude undesirables, whether Jews or gentiles? Is it correct to speak of race discrimination when only those types of a racial group are excluded with whom other types of the same group do not desire to associate either?

Are native white Americans welcome everywhere? If so, why? If not, what particular types are taken exception to or mistaken as representative of the whole breed?

Shopping and Amusements

Let us look now at illustrations of race discriminations in admission to stores and places of amusement. Keep in mind the question whether separate provision in these services for two or more races in the same community is economically possible.

156. Not knowing, writes a Filipino student at a western university, that foreigners are not admitted to barber shops in the university district, I opened the door of such a shop and went in. Before I could say a word, a man said to me coldly but firmly, "Nothin' doin', me boy, we ain't got no scissors to cut Orientals' hair with in this place." Of course, I went out at once. I never said a word about it because, though disappointed and hurt to be turned away that way, I always feel that I am in this country as a visitor, if not a guest, and have to take anything American hospitality may offer.

Of course, the barbers cannot be blamed if their assertion is true. They say that if they cut Orientals' hair they will lose their trade because their patrons, most of whom are university students, will resent the idea.

I have friends who tell me that they have been refused admission to restaurants, boarding houses, theaters and apartments. Thanks to the Japanese, Filipino and Chinese restaurants and barber shops in this part of the country! Were it not for them, perhaps we foreign students would go hungry and with hair uncut.

157. "MAN KILLED BARBER WHEN CALLED NEGRO." Under this heading, a New York newspaper recently reported how a Porto Rican, refused a shave in a

Bowery barber shop because mistaken for a Negro, shot one of the barbers dead, was captured after a chase and jailed after indictment for murder in the first degree. The Porto Rican told the police that the same morning he had been refused a shave in two other shops on the same ground, and that, when refused for the third time rather roughly, he lost his head and shot—to scare the barber, not to kill him.

Are barber shops in a category somewhat different from other stores as regards race distinctions in service? Was the Porto Rican more incensed over the refusal of a shave or over being mistaken for a Negro? Would he also have been refused in a Negro barber shop? Does the race and nationality of the barber or the location of his shop or the nationality of the majority of his customers determine his race policy?

158. Three colored girls, students in a midwestern state university, one day went into an ice cream parlor opposite the campus. The waiter took their order and was about to serve them when the manager stepped up and said that they could be served only in the kitchen. They thereupon left the place quietly.

The law of the state in which the incident occurred forbids discriminations in such places on account of color. Henry Jackson, the father of one of the girls, thereupon had criminal action brought against the manager of the ice cream parlor.

It was necessary to summon three sets of talesmen before twelve could be found who would say, not that they were unprejudiced against colored people, but that they could set aside their prejudices sufficiently to bring a verdict according to the facts.

When the case was tried, the defense called Henry Jackson to the stand. He testified that he was proprietor of a barber shop and admitted that colored men never patronized his establishment. He maintained, however, that in his shop no color line was ever drawn, that if a colored person asked to be served he would be treated exactly like a white person. The attorney for the defense then contended that Mr. Jackson did in reality draw a color line to protect his patronage, and

that under those circumstances he could not object when the manager of the ice cream parlor did the same thing.

On the strength of this plea, which quite ignored the facts and the law, the jury brought in a verdict for the defendant.

The effect of this episode was an increased feeling on the part of the whites that the Negroes were trying to force themselves into social sets where they were not wanted. The colored people, on the other hand, were convinced that it was quite futile for them to expect to be treated like other citizens in public and semi-public places; that the law would not protect them in their rights as citizens.

Can such laws as the one here mentioned ever be fully enforced? Why did the father of one of the girls take legal action? Why was the court antagonistic to him? What was the effect of the episode on the girls? On the waiter who had offended against the law? On the colored community of the town? On the white community?

159. He was on his way home from college for vacation and had stopped over in the town for only a few hours to change trains. He knew no one there, so to pass the time he went into a large and luxurious "movie."

The house was well-filled, but by no means crowded, so he secured a seat about half-way back, and in the center of the house. Hardly had he got settled when the usher came up.

"I'm sorry, but you must sit in one of the first three rows."

"But that's too near the screen," he answered, "and I've been having some trouble with my eyes of late because of overstrain."

The usher was firm and obdurate, and so was he. In a few moments, the manager himself came up. There was no question about it, the boy must either sit in one of the first three rows or leave. In fact, the manager hinted broadly, the theater would just as soon have him leave anyway, as they did not care for colored patronage.

The boy rose to leave, without a word, the manager unabashedly preceding him out. At the ticket-window, the manager quietly asked that the boy's money be refunded. The girl superciliously held out a fifty-cent piece, and the boy

slowly shook his head. "No, not that one," he said slowly, "the same one I gave you."

"Go on, you're crazy. How d'you think I'm goin' to give ye your *same* fifty cents?" The girl at the ticket window looked amused, a trifle annoyed.

"If there's so much difference between me and other people, there must be a difference in our money, and you ought to keep separate what we colored people give you, just as you keep us separate." The voice was quiet but there was bitterness in it.

What features, if any, do the examples given in this section have in common? Must a shopkeeper be something of an ethnologist to know whom to serve and whom not to serve? Can he know the wishes of his clients in this respect? Would he lose his custom by disregarding their attitudes to race?

Is the shopkeeper influenced in his race policy (if he has any) by other considerations? Would he serve Negroes—he himself being white—if he could make more money out of them than out of Whites? Could he do this in Maine? In Ohio? In Missouri? Would the economic motive determine his action?

Do you prefer to trade in a shop where the other customers are of your own racial group rather than in one that looks like an assembly of the League of Nations? If so, why? Have you any feeling as regards the race or nationality of the persons who have handled the goods you buy? Can you find out what it is? Is it only personal contact that matters?

What associations or experiences may lie back of any feeling you may have in these things?

Swimming

A book might, possibly, be written on so small a branch of our subject as the use of swimming pools by members of different races, so numerous and varied are the experiences in connection with them. The following examples, however, must suffice:[1]

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[1] See also example No. 121.

160. Social workers among the Japanese in California know that on the whole they are very cleanly in their habits. There was no objection, therefore, on the part of the executives of an institution when the members of the Japanese branch—which occupied a separate building—asked for permission to use the swimming pool in the main building at certain times, to accede to that request. A few Japanese girls had for long been in the habit of making use of the swimming pool, and no one had said anything about it. Accordingly, a time was arranged during which the pool was to be reserved for the Japanese branch. Immediately vehement protests were made by the white members:

"We can't use the pool after these Japs!"

"Since when has this building been given over to the Japs?"

"If they swim here, we can't!"

Under the circumstances, it was deemed best not to pursue the plan, and the Japanese branch was informed that its members could not come in groups.

161. "Learn to swim" was the slogan of a campaign carried on by some social institutions in a northern city. Tickets entitling boys to swimming lessons were given out through some of the schools. One got into the hands of a colored boy and was presented at the address indicated on the card, a social center used exclusively by white boys. He was passed to the showers with the other boys. The swimming pool attendant held him up at that point and told him that he must get his lessons in swimming at another center. On learning of this incident, the boy's father charged discrimination and poor judgment in giving out the tickets but went away from an interview apparently satisfied. One of the colored papers, however, took up the incident, saying:

"The . . . , a supposedly Christian institution, informed a colored boy who along with his white classmates was about to enjoy a plunge in the . . . pool, that 'niggers could not swim in this pool.' Hundreds of incidents in church, school and other institutions happen every week which should arouse any people, yet we falter."

162. The secretary of an institution in a northern city writes:

We have had in our Boys' Division a number of times colored boys of very light color. In fact, in one case we did not know that the parents were Negro. No distinction was made among the boys, nor was the lad slighted in any way although, I think, a number of the boys knew that he was of colored parentage. If his color had been very dark, there would have been difficulty immediately, I think, as there has been a time or two in our dormitory when Spaniards or Cubans of very dark color happened to be rooming in our building. Indeed, at one time we had a dark-skinned native white American whom the boys wanted to exclude because they suspected that he was Negro.

The greatest difficulty has been in cooperation with a nearby high school on whose basketball and football teams were boys of very dark skin. Our locker room and gymnasium were used by them for dressing purposes and practice. There was an immediate resentment when the Negro boys used the swimming pool. On several occasions it was necessary for us [*note the expression used*] to ask the school principal to advise them that we could not grant that courtesy. This complaint did not come from the colored boys' associates on the team but from other members of the institution who came into the pool at the same time these boys were there. Only recently have we been compelled [*again note the expression used*] to provide a separate shower room for the boys practicing on this team.

Our institution, he continued, has always tried to give the largest amount of courtesy, consideration and cooperation to the men of the Negro race, and wherever we could do this without definitely blocking our service for the larger number of whites who would come to us, we have always been ready to do it.

Why do people object to contact with those of other races in swimming pools more than elsewhere? All races? Only dark ones? Could the services given easily be duplicated for those excluded? Would that satisfy them?

Other Forms of Recreation

We have already considered race contacts in recreation when closely related to the education of children. (See p. 114 *et seq.*) A few more examples bringing out the nature and effects of different attempts to create a race line in purely social activities will show the variety of problems which occur in this field:

163. The superintendent of a Playground Association in an industrial city of the Middle West writes:

Our biggest problem from a recreational standpoint has been to know what to do concerning games between colored and white teams of adults. Children mix on all teams in our section of the country without much friction, but after high school age, colored men and women are rarely seen mixed with white players. For instance, the schools of our city do not draw any race lines, and we have about ten thousand colored people in a population of about 125,000.

Five years ago, when we started a city football league for men, there was one team composed of colored players who wanted to enter. A few white teams objected mildly, but by talking to the managers personally, we overcame the objection. The colored team was well coached and disciplined, and at the end of the season some of the white managers who at first had objected said that the colored team was the "whitest" aggregation of sports in the league.

The next season the colored boys won the city championship over about eight white teams. Then the colored section of the town became intensely interested and proud of their team. So, the third season the team had a huge following and felt a tremendous responsibility to win. Perhaps they could not take defeat in as sportsman-like a way as at first.

Anyway, feeling gradually grew to fever heat. The last game witnessed some free fights, and the following season the white teams absolutely refused to allow colored teams in the league. It is to be noted that this did not happen at the end of the second year when the colored boys had won the city championship but at the end of the third season.

A rather similar evolution took place with young women's basketball under the Girls' Athletic Federation. There was very little objection at first. Colored girls got better and better, won a north side championship after a year or two, played another year, and then were voted out of the federation by a kind of universal players' boycott. This year, trying my best, I have been unable to get them a single game, even outside the federation.

In baseball for both men and women the colored teams are now barred, in spite of the fact that when they played audiences were large and collections good. Along this last line, the feeling has not extended to professional circles—in that field our former men's colored football team has been invited to play two games with our professional team, and both sides made money; and no trouble arose. But in amateur circles the cleavage is complete in all sports.

Where does the real difficulty lie? Did the colored athletes, swelled by their successes, perhaps assume an overbearing attitude? Was the case of the other games connected with the situation in football? Did the success of the players provoke, first, approval, then disapproval? Would the approval have continued if they had lost a few games?

Does the difficulty essentially arise out of athletics or out of some other conditions in the community? Can we have playgrounds without race lines in a community where the color line is tightly drawn as regards vocational and other opportunities? Before answering these questions, consider the following two examples:

164. Two girls' basketball teams at an institutional church in the North got into a league and, in the course of events, were scheduled to play against a colored team from a Negro educational institution. The church at that time had a predominantly native American congregation, and the two teams, as it happened, were composed almost entirely of native American girls.

Soon the telephone hummed with protests of parents. The increasing contacts with foreign-born people in the neighbor-

hood of the church had become a sore point with them for some time; to have their daughters play against a colored team seemed to many of them the last straw.

However, when the dreaded evening for the first of the two events appeared, the social worker in charge had sufficiently appeased the parents to have the game proceed. All the girls were in attendance. The colored girls, it appeared, were of a particularly fine type, and their behavior was beyond reproach. Everything went off well.

Some of the white parents were present and satisfied. The girls themselves in the course of the game apparently became oblivious of the color line. No explanations and no apologies were made. The actual contact with the other group simply vanquished fear. When the date for the second inter-racial game arrived, there was no protest and no comment.

165. During the football season in Seattle, the team which won the Y. M. C. A. championship was made up as follows:

Right Half	Colored
Left Half	Scotch Japanese
Full Back	Native American
Quarter Back	Japanese
Center	Japanese
Right Guard	Native American Dutch
Left Guard	French
Right Tackle	Native American
Left Tackle	German
Right End	German Italian
Left End	English
Manager	Italian
Assistant Manager	Russian

The interesting thing about the affair, writes an officer of the Association, was that none of the players realized that all these nationalities were represented until we took the time

one evening, long after the season was over, to analyze the team from this angle.

Let us now pass to sociability in other forms:

166. In one of the residential towns of Long Island, a local society decided to hold a costume ball at the state armory to raise funds for the hospital. In order to create greater interest, this event was preceded by a beauty contest: the local newspaper was to print a ballot each day, and the girl receiving the largest number of votes was to be queen of the "Spanish court," the setting contemplated for the dance.

Within a few days it became clear that a colored girl, daughter of a postal clerk, a relative of a high church dignitary and freshman at a New York college, was coming close to lead in the competition. A few days later, the votes given to a young Jewess, student at a business college, brought her close to front rank, which then was held by a girl clerk in a credit store. At this time two persons whose names have not been divulged called upon the editor and proposed to him that he print at their expense 10,000 extra copies of the paper, credit their votes to a contestant of white native parentage to be designated by the society that was organizing the ball, and destroy them. The editor refused to do so. The visitors then offered him the same amount of money, $200, if without going through this procedure he would simply destroy enough of the votes given for the colored and the Jewish girl so that the decision would be sure to be in favor of a native white girl. He again refused to do so and advised his visitors to work for their candidates and win fairly. As a final proposal, he was asked to close the contest as soon as a candidate of desired parentage had been pushed to first place. This also he refused to do.

Within a few days, these facts having leaked out and the contest having been conducted with fever heat, the Jewish girl was driven back to the third place and the colored girl to the eighth place. At this point, officers of the society denied all knowledge of the visit to the editor but declared that "due to the many misunderstandings the contest will not be held." At the next meeting of the society it was said that the original announcement of the contest had been unfor-

tunately worded, that there had been no intention of electing in this democratic manner the "queen of the court" but only a lady in waiting, and that as a matter of fact, Mr. X and Mrs. Y had already been chosen to act as king and queen.

The colored girl said she had not been eligible anyhow since she lived in a neighboring town, and the Jewish girl was evidently more than pleased with the testimonial to her popularity without worrying greatly about the abandonment of the contest. The general feeling of the community, as expressed by a leading citizen, was that the contest had, quite unnecessarily, "stirred up a great deal of bitterness, discord and trouble."

167. Some Italian girls in the Y. W. C. A. of a large northern industrial city were organized more or less as a club. One member, Tessie, was Polish and stood out as a distinctly different type. She belonged to this group because she worked with many of the Italian girls in the clothing industry. Other Polish girls also worked at the same shop but would have nothing at all to do with the Italians. There were Polish groups in this Y. W. C. A.; but Tessie was not at all interested in them. She seemed particularly happy with her Italian friends and was a great favorite with them.

Not long ago this group planned to have a dance and when the question of selling tickets came up, they said to Tessie, "Say, you can take a bunch of tickets, can't you, Tessie? Get a lot of your Polish friends to come." Tessie immediately replied that she could not sell *any* tickets. "No, don't give me any," she said when she was urged, "I can't sell a single one, and you'd be mad if I told you why, too." No amount of urging could make Tessie disclose the reason. She just giggled and evaded the question. Finally, one of the Italian girls said with some spirit: "Why don't you come right out and *say* your Polish friends wouldn't want to get in with a bunch of Italians?" Tessie then said, "Well, just because *I* like you Italians, don't think everybody does." The incident was thus closed without the least bit of hard feeling.

This same group was joined by a new member with a Latin name that might have belonged to any of several nationalities, a girl of dark complexion who, because she joined this group, was taken for an Italian as a matter of course, although

she spoke rather differently from the other girls. The secretary of the department to which this club belonged, one day, from something this girl said, concluded that she too was Polish. "You aren't Polish, Josephine?" she asked. "Why, of course, I'm Polish. Did you think I was Italian?" The secretary admitted she had thought so and mentioned the girl's name and appearance as the causes of her mistake. The girl felt no resentment at all at being taken for an Italian. In regard to the dance mentioned above, she said she could not have sold any tickets either. In conversation with the secretary she said: "You know, you couldn't get Polish girls, that is most of them, to dance with Italian boys."

It is interesting to note that this particular group of Italians, when it was first organized, started out to be very exclusive and, like most undirected groups of girls, wanted to look over prospective new members and vote on each candidacy for membership after discussion. Later they adopted the suggestion that a broad basis of membership would be preferable and agreed that girls might bring in their friends as they chose. Suddenly one girl spoke up with horror: "Well, suppose some one brought in a colored girl? What would we do then? We couldn't have a colored girl in our club!" Another girl very haughtily set the first girl's fear at rest by replying: "I think it is *hardly* likely that any of us would even be *acquainted* with a colored person."

Did the trouble in these cases arise from the fact that the actual or proposed social activities, especially dancing, were of the nature of a contact considered too intimate by many persons for admitting to it those not of their social set? Is this objection connected with fear of intermarriage? Is a dance—even a unique affair, such as the ball in the Long Island community—more likely to lead to intimacy than, say, a literary club or an inter-church committee?

We must not forget to give thought to those little breaks in social intercourse which, like the light cloud over the volcano, indicate the smouldering hidden forces of race feeling:

168. At a party some one used the phrase, "jewing them down." There were several Jews in the room, and there was an awkward silence for a moment. But no apology was made.

One of the Jewish guests afterwards said that he had made no remark about the matter at the time because he knew from other similar experiences that it would only have aggravated matters, and that it would have placed him and the other Jews present, and not the offender, somewhat apart from the rest of the company.[1]

Are such awkward incidents frequent? Do they unavoidably occur where people of different race feelings meet? Why would the Jews present and not the man who made the tactless remark have suffered if the subject had been made at once a topic of conversation?

Do you recall similar instances? Would a person of good manners never make such a break, no matter what his feelings?

Social Service

Perhaps some of the questions put in the previous section can be answered more readily if first we look at a few cases of race contact in social service and in the churches that have led to friction.

169. The city club of a middle western city, one of the largest in the country, was afraid it might have to face the color problem when a Negro was recommended for membership. The issue was dodged; the Negro's application was "tactfully withdrawn," "without offense"—so it was alleged. There are hundreds of educated, refined Negroes in that city. The city club has been for many years the most stalwart defender of public rights and public morality; it is a club which people enter, for the most part, to render public service in one way or another and not simply for its social amenities. Yet its members, or some of them, rejoiced in what they looked upon as a "narrow escape" from having to take up the question whether Negroes, qualified by education, professional status and personal reputation, should be permitted to take part in these efforts.

170. At a conference of the officers of a national social agency, held in the South, a colored delegate from a northern

[1] See also example No. 9.

city was in attendance. The waitresses declined to serve the table at which he sat. The situation was fully discussed. Should an attempt be made to compel these southern girls to violate a tradition? This the management decided not to do. Should the colored delegate be sent home? His white associates from the northern city intimated that they would go with him if such action were attempted. Should the colored man voluntarily drop out? He decided, and his white colleagues agreed with him, that an inter-racial principle was involved which he should not violate.

In the end, the entire delegation from that city was transferred to a private dining room and served by a special colored waiter.

171. Mr. and Mrs. K. were very ill with influenza and pneumonia. This circumstance was particularly distressing because they had planned to leave for China in about a week, and much of their household goods had been packed. He was an engineer, and she a graduate of an American university; both were Chinese.

Some of their Chinese student friends tried to get a nurse for the couple but failed since no one seemed to care to go to a Chinese household. Then one of the students who had the English-sounding name of Young, left a request in his own name for a nurse to come to the apartment; and before long a nurse appeared. She was surprised when she found herself in a Chinese household but stayed on the case.

172. The executive of a religious institution went to an important industrial plant in his city to solicit larger support. He was asked to see the head of the firm and lay before him his request and his plans. These stressed more particularly the work of the institution's activities on behalf of young working men. The manufacturer listened carefully to him. Then he asked, "Is it true, Mr. ——, that you admit Catholics and Jews to membership only in a given proportion?" The secretary admitted it was so, stating the percentage quotas.

"Do you know," said the manufacturer, "that we employ in this plant several hundred young men without inquiring into their religion or nationality? Why do you expect me to

support an institution that is going to provide for the leisure time of only a part of these men and leave the others out in the cold?''

Do social agencies in making race distinctions act upon what they consider to be the wishes of their clients? Those of their financial supporters? Are those wishes usually identical? Are social agencies often more timid in broadening contacts than either their clients or their supporters? Are they more timid than business or professional groups?

Before deciding whether such discriminations on racial grounds as here described are typical of American social service, read the following example and decide whether cooperation, even between socially quite distant groups, is perhaps even more representative of it:

173. A notable feature of the Atlanta Community Chest campaign for $600,000 was the active and generous cooperation of the colored people who made 4,261 subscriptions to the fund, aggregating $33,084. This sum about equals the total sum apportioned in the Chest budget to the six participating Negro organizations. . . .

More surprising than the total was the fact that the second largest individual subscription of the whole campaign was one of $3,500, made by Heman Perry, colored, in the name of The Service Company, an organization which affiliates eleven Negro business enterprises with a total capitalization of $5,500,000. Officers and employees of this company subscribed a total of $8,050. E. R. Black, the campaign chairman, paid an appreciative tribute to the spirit shown by the colored people in this great community enterprise.[1]

Church Activities

The following examples are of special interest in connection with this study which aims at finding a Christian way out of our race difficulties. They illustrate, at any rate, that the

[1] The Southern Workman for March, 1924.

Christian *name* does not ensure uniformity either in the accepted policy or even in the underlying motive of attitudes toward those of other races displayed in the activities of Christian institutions.

174. When an old family church develops institutional features for the benefit of its members and their children, the question of admitting others in the neighborhood to benefit from the opportunities provided is bound to arise. This happened in the case of a Protestant church in a large middle western city. Simultaneously with the building up of institutional features there happened a rapid change in the nature of the neighborhood. Large numbers of foreign-born established themselves in the streets around the church, and later there was an influx of southern Negroes, attracted by an ever increasing demand for labor. Many of the church members moved away, but a majority remained loyal to the church—for a time at least. A few years ago the nature of the institution attached to this church was definitely changed to meet the altered circumstances; it became a social and religious settlement.

This settlement, in principles and methods, is not very different from other social settlements in big cities; but it was built on the efforts and sacrifices of the original native American church members, and therefore the views of that older group could not in fairness be disregarded in the shaping of policies. The actual program of the settlement, under the circumstances, became one of compromise; the principles arising from the conduct of a family-institutional church were not suddenly abandoned. The problems in group relations which resulted may be illustrated by two outstanding examples:

During the earlier phase of the change, some of the older members expressed uneasiness over the fact that a number of Jews were attracted to the settlement. Is not this settlement, they inquired, for the purpose of feeding the church? Then why cater to the desires of a lot of people who never will join it? It was found that this attitude was much stronger in opposition to Jews than in opposition to Roman Catholics who also used the settlement facilities. An analysis of the reasons given for keeping out Jews indicated the following:

1. A traditional prejudice against Jews handed on from parents to children without much reasoned argument;
2. The idea that Jews were smelly and dirty. It was said that while contact with Jewish children was unavoidable at school, to have them use the same swimming pool and locker rooms was intolerable;
3. Fear that the Jews would "want to run the whole show," the idea that they were aggressive and difficult to get on with—an experience with occasional individuals applied to a whole race.

But the reasons stated only partially revealed the real reasons. It was found that the younger people who previous to the establishment of the settlement had the gymnasium and other facilities for their own use, that is, the use of a much smaller number, were irked by the necessity for more systematic arrangements as regards their uses so that all the different groups should have their regular turn. They did not see why a "bunch of Jewish fellows" should be allowed to keep out their own set on given nights.

For a time a clean-cut division between old-timers and newcomers went through all activities. At council meetings their representatives would sit at opposite sides of the room. But tactful leadership, a really democratic organization, above all innumerable social contacts between individuals, wore down the invisible barrier. The greatest single leveller of differences among the younger members was the summer camp.

Trouble arose again when the Negro element in the neighborhood grew larger. Among the organized groups of the settlement a colored girls' club and a colored boys' club sprang up. A sprinkling of color entered most of the miscellaneous activities: the children's department, music school, weekday school of religion, public meetings. One of the neighboring public schools asked the settlement to take in a number of the older boys and girls and organize them into clubs. This was agreed to, and a list of the various groups was made up at the school.

One of these groups was composed of colored boys of what is known as "intermediate" age. This became known in the house, and at a meeting of the Intermediate Boys' Council it

was voted, after much discussion, not to admit this group into their activities. This matter was referred to the House Council for consideration, and here also a vote was passed, almost unanimously, that the group not be admitted to the house because admission of this club would tend to create a further influx of colored groups. The headworker opposed this action because it was against the established policy of the settlement to discriminate on racial grounds and because with the existing quota of clubs there was no danger of an over-running of colored groups. He laid the matter before the Administrative Committee and recommended that it exercise its power of veto.

The Administrative Committee does not legislate but in matters of policy acts as a sort of supreme court, seeing to it that no action taken runs counter to the established principles of the institution, except with a fully considered decision to change those principles. It decided that the settlement had a moral right to maintain the integrity of its white groups. But it also felt that because of the existence of a large colored element in the neighborhood for which very little was being done, a small amount of work with Negroes was desirable and not incompatible with other claims on the settlement.

It was argued that any discrimination would be not on the basis of color but because of the danger of mixing, especially in the adolescent groups, those carrying on the established moral standards with those of a group with much lower moral standards. They were influenced in this view not so much by prejudice as by the considered opinion of school principals, social workers, the juvenile court, church workers and others which was based on actual experience. For instance, many of the Negro children, being educationally backward—of course for reasons for which neither they nor their parents were to blame—were at school with much younger groups and had been found to introduce these younger children to a knowledge of sex in quite undesirable ways. There had recently been a scandal in the city in which colored children of both sexes were found inmates in a house of ill-fame. Immoral practices had been reported from playgrounds. In all these cases, the danger lay not in the presence of Negroes who had been a substantial though not very large part of the population for a

long time but in that of Negroes from the South who had not yet been educated to northern ideals.

Many of the church people and others who were most strongly opposed to social contact between their children and those of these newcomers were also desirous to take part in any practical ways of aiding the moral and educational advancement of the new citizens. The upshot, in the case under discussion, was a decision to maintain a proportion of about three colored clubs to fifty-seven white ones in order that there should be no appearance of color discrimination and at the same time an opportunity be given for a certain amount of educational adjustment within the settlement itself. This ruling admitted the club in question as the third in addition to the two already in existence.

This action was received with more resentment by some of the older groups in the house than by the one that had originally raised the question; but the discussion now turned entirely away from the immediate issue to that of "democracy." Could a decision of the House Council thus be overruled? This discussion does not concern us here. The matter of the club of colored boys, according to recent reports, has entirely blown over. No hostility has been shown to the group after it was admitted by any section of the house.

It is interesting to note that Jews were on the two councils that voted for the exclusion of colored groups. Memories are short. It is not impossible that Negroes will vote for exclusion when the next large group of immigrants knocks at the gate!

175. There is a city in southern California which until about thirty years ago was entirely a Mexican town. It was settled by Mexicans years before, and only Mexicans lived there until the development of the district was taken up by an American real estate company. Gradually white Americans have come in, until now they have the deciding vote in municipal affairs.

A year or two ago, the Protestant Evangelical church which is responsible for religious education in that community purchased a corner in a strategic part of the town for the development of its work among the Mexican people. Regardless of the fact that the Mexicans were the first comers and had

established themselves before Americans came in, a vigorous protest was launched by certain American people in the community in an effort to influence the missionary board not to purchase the property, stating that it was "necessary to keep the Mexicans in their place." It was not stated just what that place was.

* * * * * *

A similar situation prevailed in Hollywood. Long before Hollywood was settled by eastern Americans or became the Mecca of the moving picture industry, it was occupied by the Japanese and was cultivated as Japanese gardens. The rise in property values and the tremendous development of the district in recent years have crowded the Japanese out, but there is still quite a handful of them in the center of the Hollywood district.

Not long ago the Presbytery of Los Angeles organized a Japanese church among them, and a lot was purchased to erect a church. Protests of infuriated property owners delayed the erection of the church, and the city building department was influenced not to grant a permit. At a mass meeting, circulars were distributed which declared: "You sent your children to our schools; we stood for it. You opened up your fruit stands; we stood for it. Now you want to build a church, and we will not stand for it."[1]

The impressions produced upon those of foreign races by an attitude toward them of professed Christians, which cannot but strike them as contemptuous, have often been described, especially by returning travelers who have met in foreign lands persons at one time resident in the United States. The following two examples seem to illustrate typical reactions:

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[1] It is to be understood that the church which these Japanese desired to build was not a Buddhist temple but an evangelical church and as such would tend to make the people who worshiped there less like Japanese and more like Americans. But until now, writes the correspondent who contributes this statement in the spring of 1924, the attitude of the American people in the district has been the determining factor.

176. A sad experience, writes a Filipino student at a western university, happened to me in a place where I should last have expected it to occur. It was the more bitter and disappointing to me because it was so contrary to the spirit that had prompted the gathering.

It was at a church "mixer." Here in the university district, all the churches give a quarterly mixer to get the students, old as well as new and freshmen, mixed and acquainted. To facilitate this aim, several kinds of indoor games are played of a kind that compel the members of the party to get acquainted. At one of these church mixers, after all the games had been played and time was getting late, we were asked to form two lines to get ready for the refreshments—men formed one line and women the other. It was arranged that each man should take two plates, one for himself and the other for his woman partner. When my turn came, my supposed partner grabbed hers quickly and trotted to one corner. So there I was left alone as a derelict of, perhaps, "waves of hidden smiles." I had never been put to such shame or placed in such an embarrassing situation in my life.

Perhaps this occurrence would not embarrass other people, but to me it is one which I could not tolerate. Ever since that time I made it a resolution never to attend mixers of any kind. I know this is not the right attitude; but I simply cannot tolerate the thought of such an occurrence. My decision never again to attend these functions is not a reflection on the churches; I have no grudge against them. In fact, I am as loyal to my church as anybody else. I simply want to stay away as much as possible from any possible embarrassments.

This is a most frequent occurrence in the social gatherings in the university district which foreign students sometimes attend. We have, for example, what we call an "all-university mixer," sponsored by the associated students of the university. I have never attended one of them. Reports from other foreign students, however, show that they have experiences not different from mine.

177. The Living Church recently printed a letter written by a Chinese student in this country to a friend in China, which contains the following:

> The people here as a whole have a strong sentiment against Chinese, so it is rather hard for a young "Chink" to make acquaintances in refined society. . . . I don't feel at home at all. The hearty welcome I get from church people makes me feel the more that I am among strangers; they greet me so much more warmly than they greet each other. It makes me feel that I am different. I have written the following prayer for myself:
>
> "Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, Thou hast made the earth and the people thereon, white, yellow, red or black, at Thy will and they are all good in Thy sight. I beseech Thee to comfort me when I feel like a stranger here; help me to endure persecution and scorn; give me wisdom that I may understand that peoples of whatever complexion are all Thy children and Thou art their Father and Creator."[1]

Are contacts between members of different racial groups through church activities less or more intimate than in other relationships? Can common worship be combined with segregation in social activities under the auspices of the same church? What is the effect of such segregation on the worshippers? Does every church serve humanity at large or primarily some specific group?

Are the stories told in this section representative? Dr. Gulick reports of a Japanese who, repeatedly welcomed in a certain church by one of the deacons, ventured to accost him on the street one day. The deacon said: "I'm your friend in church but not elsewhere."[2] *Do you believe that a typical occurrence?*

Do ministers of different races and nationalities in your community cooperate on a basis of absolute equality? Are racial preferences shown in the appointment of church officers? If so, are they justified by supposedly practical reasons? What are these?

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[1] J. S. Tow, The Real Chinese in America. Academy Press, New York, 1923, p. 68.

[2] Our American Japanese Problems. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914, p. 170.

Does your church provide for contacts between its congregation and church members of other races, in so far as these may be organized in separate churches? If so, how?

Is there in your community an occasional interchange of pulpits between white and colored ministers? If so, with what results? If not, why not?

Do the churches in your community, does your own church, stand behind and take part in civic efforts in inter-racial cooperation? Is the attitude of your church to religious and social enterprise among the foreign born of your community antagonistic, indifferent, patronizing or cooperative?

Is the general attitude in your church that race feeling must be suppressed because it is unchristian or that it must be examined as to its reprehensible and justifiable elements? In what practical ways does your church express its attitude to race feeling—whatever this is?

The findings on the various groups of questions in this chapter are likely to be somewhat miscellaneous and disconnected. Let us see whether we can summarize some of the matters of major concern:

What are the dominant motives in the objections to social contacts with the members of another race? Does the fear of intermarriage enter into the attitude of railroad travelers, of storekeepers and their clients, of social workers, of churches? Does every social contact make for a larger possibility of intermarriage? Are other motives hidden, consciously or unconsciously, behind objections to social contact on the ground that it leads to intermarriage?

Does the exclusion of a racial or national group from a private institution, such as a club, represent an insult? Is a church a private institution? Is a hotel? Is a business men's association? Is a college fraternity? Is a Y. M. C. A.?

Can churches and social agencies eliminate race discriminations altogether from their own practices? Is there anything anti-social in the attitude of persons who wish the atmosphere

of their church, their club, etc., to represent the taste and cultural standards of their own racial group? Are such tastes and standards likely to be different from those of other racial groups? Is it possible to admit, without spoiling the desired intimate atmosphere, individuals of other groups? Is there less resentment on the part of the race excluded if a few chosen members of that race are invited to join? Is this exclusiveness on racial lines in any way different from exclusiveness on class lines? Is it contrary to what is usually regarded as the American spirit? Did the founders of this republic construe democracy as all-inclusiveness? Did Lincoln?

Are you personally following the code of your set, in so far as it has one and you know it, in social relations with members of other race groups? Does that code correspond to your ideas of justice, of social expediency, of Christianity? Does adherence by the members of different social groups to the traditional standards of these groups mean a hardening and perpetuating of existing class and race lines? Have these lines, as a matter of fact, undergone changes in your experience? If so, what are these?

Would you sell your house to a Negro if you knew that in doing so you would lower the values of your neighbors' homes? What is it that determines those values? Is there a critical housing situation in your community which especially affects Negroes or foreign-born groups? Is the community doing anything about it? Can individuals do anything about it? Would any action on your part, if it disregarded the prevailing sentiment of the dominant group, do more harm than good?

What, if any, is the particular harm of "Jim Crow" regulations? Would their abolition in some parts of the country lead to more race friction? Could one find out when and where public opinion is ripe for their abolition? Is an abolition of various race taboos possible without a period of pre-

vious education in tolerance? Can education in tolerance be effective while these taboos continue?

What would be the net social result if the abolition of such taboos were to lead to more intimate contacts and to intermarriage? Do we know enough about the effects, biological and social, of intermarriage to foresee that result? Has the prohibition of intermarriage in fact prevented miscegenation? Would the members of different racial groups—with their differences in appearance, customs, standards, language, habits, social status, experiences, ideals—intermarry in large numbers if free to do so? Do most marriages take place between two individuals without regard to their social and family connections? Do increased contacts between racial groups necessarily lead to increased intimacy between individual members of those groups?

CHAPTER VII

Non-Adjustment and Mal-Adjustment

See note on top of page 1

If the study of race relations has been approached with the assumption that some simple factor, such as economic determination or a biological struggle for survival, accounts for every variety of antagonism between different racial or national groups, an examination of the great variety of incidents in the previous chapters will have dissipated any such idea. We must now attack yet another complicating element that often escapes those who seek to simplify the statement of the problem. Do not many of the incidents related show that in situations which at first present themselves as illustrations of race struggle, the racial or biological element may, in reality, be almost negligible—indeed, sometimes accidental?[1]

There is yet another series of incidents, some of them contributed by correspondents as illustrative of racial antagonism, where the element of friction is clearly temporary and cannot, therefore, be assigned to differences in permanent, biological characteristics. Social groups are not static in their mutual relations but shift from one position to another. Two races adjusted to each other in a harmonious living together at some point in their development may at another point find

[1] Many incidents of traditional attitudes given in these chapters can be paralleled with similar incidents that occur in societies of homogeneous race—though historically the respective social and economic status of these groups may be explained by a difference of race that has disappeared through intermarriage; as, for instance, the relations between squire, tenant farmers and laborers in a typical backward English country community or between Junkers and peasants in the eastern parts of Germany or, for the matter of that, all eastern Europe.

their interests drifting apart, their very conditions of existence becoming mutually exclusive. Or again, and most frequently at the beginning of their contact, two racial groups may carry on an independent life side by side, with few recognized contacts, to discover at a later stage an interdependence that requires a much closer relationship between them than they have been aware of. This new interdependence—which may be political or economic—requires of social intercourse a transition from mere tolerance to cooperation, a transition which brings with it new problems for conduct, not always solved without friction. We have, thus, to distinguish between problems of non-adjustment and of mal-adjustment, each involving dangers to social harmony which may be aggravated by the common misunderstandings and traditional attitudes, and by differences in treatment that have become habitual, such as have been reviewed in earlier chapters.

Old Residents and New

Our first series of incidents illustrative of these types of problems deals with the relations between old residents and new in a community.[1]

178. In one of the congested quarters of New York City is a small Protestant church whose members are Americans, largely of Scotch and German stock, most of them of the working class. They are good, thrifty, self-respecting people. Some time ago, a group of Italian Protestant Christians who had been holding services in a store, were obliged to find temporary quarters pending the completion of a church edifice. They asked for permission to use the church just described; they were willing to take it on any terms, holding their services at an hour that would not interfere with the regular appointments of the church. The American-born church members, however, were unwilling to grant this permission. They

[1] See also examples No. 17-22, 28-30, 33-39, 44, 48-49, 55, 58, 87, 99, 113, 114, 126, 134, 141, 142, 154, 166, 174.

were almost scandalized at the request. "What," they said, "let those dirty dagoes use our church! It wouldn't be fit for decent people to come into after them."

It was pointed out to them by one whom they respected and who knew the Italians well, that these were a very decent crowd. But this had no influence on the children of an earlier immigration as they felt that all Italians were dirty and undesirable. It was also suggested to them that their attitude was scarcely Christian; but this had no effect. They seemed to feel that they were confronted with a situation which demanded "practical" treatment and in which Christian principles of brotherhood did not for the moment apply. The Italians finally found a temporary home in a settlement.

Since the Italians, according to one man who knew them well, were "a very decent crowd," why were they objected to? Would the attitude of the native Americans toward them be likely to be the same in another twenty years? What contacts are they likely to have had?

179. I heard "America" sung in Italian recently by a congregation to whom I spoke in English without an interpreter. The pastor was not antagonistic to the use of English, nor were his people. They simply had not given any thought to the matter.[1]

Does this example throw light on the others?

180. The athletic club at a certain settlement is composed of young men between the ages of 18 and 25. There is a membership of about 150. The members are chiefly of German and Irish extraction with a fairly large proportion of American-born Jews of Russian and Polish parentage.

A few years ago when young Italians began to apply for admission to the club there was a strong prejudice against accepting them. Indeed a boy with an Italian name had no chance. The headworker of the settlement used to argue with the members in behalf of the Italians, citing cases of young Italians he knew who were thoroughly nice fellows, and urged that all applicants be considered on their merits. This had

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[1] Charles A. Brooks, Christian Americanization. Missionary Education Movement, 1919, p. 65.

no effect. The club members replied that it was all very well for the chief to talk that way but that they knew these boys in a way he did not; they worked alongside of them, and they knew that any Italian for the slightest grievance would stick a knife in your back. There was no question about this in their minds.

The headworker concluded that it would be foolish to try to force things by insisting that Italian boys should be taken into the club. However, as Italians began to be prominent in sports generally, and as the club members came into competition with Italian members of other clubs, the prejudice began to break down. They were ready to take in an Italian if he looked like a promising athlete, one who might make some sort of record for the club.

Would Italian boys in an American shop be likely to use a knife "for the slightest grievance"? What has created that belief? Is it a genuine belief or a rationalization for some other cause of antagonism? If the latter, what is that cause likely to be?

181. A young Italian on the threshold of manhood is now in a reformatory. He worked in a shop where his fellow workers said that the girls in America were all free; all he had to do was to show some money and the girl was his. He followed the teaching literally, insulted two respectable young women and is today learning what law is, and how America honors its womanhood.[1]

Consider these four incidents together. They all deal with Italians in our great cities. Is the segregation of foreign groups from the rest of the community accidental? If not, what are the reasons for it? Is an antagonism like that in example No. 180 likely to be revived at any time? Under what circumstances? Was the young Italian in example No. 181 really as guileless as he is pictured?

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[1] Peter Roberts, The Problem of Americanization. Macmillan Co., 1920, p. 183.

Here is another incident from settlement experience:[1]

182. It is only within the last twenty years that Jewish boys in New York have taken an active interest in athletics. The settlements that worked among the Jews realized that the boys were devoting themselves too much to literary and intellectual pursuits and decided, about that time, to stimulate an interest in sports.

I remember, writes the headworker of one the settlements, one of the first basketball games that our Settlement Athletic Club played with a group from one of the downtown settlements. Their opponents were all Jews, and our Irish and German boys regarded them with contempt mixed with amusement. This was before the game. To their astonishment and chagrin the Jewish team beat them.

I thought it was a wholesome lesson but did not anticipate the consequences. The Jewish boys politely said good-by, but not long afterwards they came running back to the gymnasium breathless and demanding protection. It seems that our Athletic Club boys had gone down to the street and waited for the victorious team to appear and then had proceeded to give them the kind of a licking which the rules of the game would not permit on the gymnasium floor.

An example from the industrial field may suggest other evidence on this point:

183. Some years ago, writes a molder, I was working at my trade at a fairly large foundry in a city of Nebraska. The molders, like other crafts, have through long years of experience built up an apprenticeship system which works to the great advantage of those who undertake to learn a trade and want to be real mechanics. So, in this shop with quite a number of molders there were a number of apprentices, most of them Italians.

[1] For other incidents arising in neighborhood work and a general exposition of the problems involved in the adjustment between old residents and newcomers residing in the same community see the literature of American settlements; more especially Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, The Settlement Horizon (Russell Sage Foundation, 1922); and also John Daniels' critical study, America via the Neighborhood (Harper & Brothers, 1920).

Now I, for one, hold no ill-will or malice toward any one because of his creed, color or nationality; and it so happened that the majority of molders in this shop were of the same frame of mind. Therefore the Italian apprentices were at all times treated as brothers, and when they had finished their time were admitted to the union.

In negotiation with the firm for an increase in wages, the molders were compelled to strike. After being out a week—it being the custom to call the apprentices out later—the molders called upon the apprentices to lay down their tools. They refused.

Here the members of a craft had for years been training these men of a foreign nationality, as was their duty; these had been serving terms varying from six months to almost four years when the strike was called, yet refused to identify themselves with their fellow workers and acted as a closed national group. Thus quite an ill-feeling grew up, and when about a year later I left the city, there had grown up a positive case of prejudice against Italians.

Had the native molders and their foreign-born apprentices adjusted their respective interests as wage-earners? At what point had that adjustment stopped? Was this limitation inevitable? Had it anything to do with the relationship of the two groups outside the shop? What was that relationship? What was the effect of the strike upon it? What would it have become in, say, ten years if there had not been this strike? Is the antagonism to Italians which developed likely to be a new, permanent factor in the life of that community? What influences will nourish, what influences abate it?

Effects of Non-Adjustment

Two examples will illustrate more especially the influence of their limited contact with native Americans upon the attitude of immigrants to the country of their adoption or temporary residence:

184. "America is the most mean and vile country," writes a laborer by the name of Terenty, "and I will try to light the fire of hate toward Americans in every corner of Russia."

He lived in America for six years, but during that time the "Americans" he came in contact with were immigrants like himself, who sometimes exploited and mistreated him.

A laborer from Ohio writes: "We have here too many Americans. I worked in other places, and have seen only a few of them. But here wherever you go you see Americans, and they look upon you as if you were a low thing and they were great men. I hate them!"

Only one of those "haters" displayed some humor, saying: "The Americans are a bad people. You speak to them the plainest Russian language, and you even add a word or two of English, for their benefit, and still they do not understand a thing!"

The main difficulty in the relations between Russian immigrants and Americans is that there are almost no such relations. . . .[1]

What were the contacts of these men with "Americans"? Are their views typical? Were they contacts touching only one side of their lives? Would their "hate" be likely to disappear with longer residence? If so, why?

185. Frequently the person who collects the rent may be a foreigner, but as the Russians say, "How can we tell? He speaks English, he is an American to us." The agent, according to the Russians, rarely agrees to make any improvements, although they may be sorely needed. Few tenants dare to insist, for they may receive a request for an increase of rent by way of reply. One priest told us his experience with these agents:

> When they are Americans they are very polite as long as they think they can get your money. One insurance agent crossed himself as he opened my door. After he received my order he went out slamming the door and spitting on the porch. When others come for the rent, they will offer me a cigarette; when they have no business, they won't even recognize me on the street.[2]

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[1] Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 23, quoting an article by Mark Villchur in *Russkoye Slovo*, a newspaper in the Russian language, published in New York.

[2] Jerome Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

Is assimilation a process by which newcomers become absorbed in the community? Does contact with new groups change the character of the older established ones? Does the nature of the contact influence the mutual attitudes? Does it influence the rate of progress in the process of assimilation?

Which of the situations displayed in the examples so far considered in this chapter illustrate non-adjustment—lack of contacts—and which of them mal-adjustment—disturbing contacts?

Is your conduct toward persons of various racial and national groups in your community influenced by distinct feelings which you have toward them? Do customary attitudes of your own group toward the other groups play any part in these feelings? Do you have a sense of superiority over newcomers to the community which is independent of their race or nationality? If you are native white, do you feel differently to a foreign-born person or a Negro who has been living in the community for a long time from the way you feel toward one recently arrived?

This section would not be complete without at least suggestive references to efforts made by alien groups to adjust themselves to the standards of their fellow citizens:

186. In Wapato, Washington, in the Yakima Valley, ten Japanese families contributed $10 a month to pay the salary of a white American woman to live for a week at a time with each of them and show them "how to make a Christian American home."

An observer reports that owing to the character and ability of the woman secured for it this unique educational experiment was most successful.

187. The following is quoted from a Japanese newspaper published in Seattle:

Last Friday evening a dance was given by the Japanese Girls' Club, at Corinth Hall. The club was organized by the Japanese girl students of the city, assisted by the patronesses of the community. The present club is the first attempt to organize a social club among the girls of the Japanese community after the American fashion. This social affair was

attended by a large number of the leading men and women of the community who received the guests of the evening. The decoration of the hall and the arrangement of the program suggested the atmosphere of American social life, with a total lack of the ways of the Far East.

While I watched the progress of the evening, I could not help but feel the good that this sort of undertaking brings to the life of the young people in the community by giving them the feeling that they too can have, as their American sisters have, a social life; and I quietly hoped that a great deal of good may come out of this club activity without the corresponding weakness of over-socialization.[1]

What induced the Japanese, in example No. 186, to invite a white American woman to live among them? Have you come across other cases in which a foreign-born group took the initiative in seeking to learn American ways?

Is the effect necessarily favorable or lasting? What has been the general effect of Negroes trying to adopt the standards of white Americans? What were their previous standards?

Does such adaptation to other modes of living tend to diminish the characteristic contribution which each race or nationality might make to American life? Does it lead to a dead monotony in our social life?

Will such assimilation of cultural standards lead to intermarriage and amalgamation? Is that Japanese editor representative in his appraisal of the dance given at Corinth Hall? Are other foreign-born leaders opposed to the imitation of American ways? If so, what are their reasons?[2]

A New Environment

So far we have had in mind chiefly failures in adjustment between different groups that are thrown together in our cosmopolitan life. We have seen what happens when two sets of

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[1] Robert E. Park, The Immigrant Press and Its Control. Harper and Brothers, 1922, p. 164.

[2] Make sure that on this and similar questions raised in this chapter you have the views of representative persons of foreign birth.

people (or more) with separate traditions, distinct backgrounds, different in appearance, tastes and abilities are brought into contacts which, usually, are limited and not on the plane of their highest common interests. But for the newcomer more is involved than just meeting and living with strangers. The whole environment in which he finds himself is different from the one to which he has been accustomed; not only the attitudes which he encounters among the older residents vary from those he has known, but the whole social nexus implied in the categories of place and work—that is, modes of living, industries, form of residence, diet, available resources of all kinds, including those for education and recreation—may be new to him. We must, therefore, distinguish from the adjustment problems just considered others in which failures in harmonious assimilation arise from the strangeness of the environment as a whole rather than from the nature of the particular racial or national groups encountered in it.

188. In Dayton, Ohio, as in other cities of that part of the United States, large numbers of Negroes have come in during recent years from the South who are not equipped by previous experience for life in a modern industrial community. Hence all sorts of problems in relationships arise. Here is the story of one of them:

A Hungarian family bought property and moved into its new home before it discovered that the property next door was owned by a colored family of low standards of living. It was the only colored family in the block, had owned the house for several years and during this time kept a cow, a horse and at varous times pigs. The collective instincts of this family, as our informant expresses it, are strong; they have accumulated rags, pieces of burlap, stacks of straw, junk which is much in evidence—in short, the lot is in a very untidy and unsanitary condition. The Hungarian family, as it happened, was one of high standards. Their home was neat, though simple, their garden well cared for and their children well behaved. They have planted many flowers.

Not knowing to whom to report their distress when water, thrown on the ground from the backdoor of the "Brown" family seeped down onto their lawn, or where to report the menace of their neighbors' uncollected garbage, the Hungarian family tried to settle the matter directly with their neighbors. With their limited knowledge of English, unfortunately about all they succeeded in doing was to call the Browns "dirty niggers"; and the Browns retaliated by calling the Hungarians "Hunkies"; so by the time the attention of a social agency was drawn to the situation, the feeling ran high.

A social worker who was called in tried to reason with the colored family. But they were incapable of keeping the lot clean, and the trouble grew. The case was then reported to the Sanitary Division of the Department of Health. An inspector showed the need to clean up; but again it proved impossible to get anything done. The social worker again visited the home of the Browns and tried to persuade them to clean up their yard. They replied by putting a "spite wall" of burlap between the two lots, making the appearance even worse than it had been before. At last a colored Visiting Housekeeper has been employed by the city and is making regular visits in the home of the Browns. In the meantime, the social worker is calling on the Hungarian family, trying to teach them to be patient with their neighbors' shortcomings.

189. Daniel Szmolia, a Ukranian peasant working as a pocket maker, was discharged for poor workmanship. He came into the office of the arbitration board which was to review his case, a picture of perplexity. Heavily built, broad faced, slow of movement, and slow mentally, he could not understand why he was no longer wanted. He had worked at the occupation for three years and now suddenly he was "no good," as he put it. The foreman explained that the man was willing enough, but, try as he would, he could not do the work properly. Instructors could do nothing with him and he was warned over and over again that he would have to do better, but neither instruction nor threats of discharge brought any improvement. There was nothing to do but to let him go.

One glance at the man's large hands and short fat fingers was enough to convince the chairman of the board that he never would learn to do the intricate work of pocket making. His physical and mental processes showed that he was equipped by nature for rough, heavy labor and was accustomed to waiting for the results of his work to grow. Manipulating cloth under the needle of a sewing machine was the last thing one would expect such a man to be able to do.

"How long have you had this man?" the foreman was asked.

"About nine months. He came to us when we were short of pocket makers and were glad to get any one. We kept him on pockets as long as we could not get any one else, then we tried him at sewing up shoulders and backs, but we have had to do all that work of his over again also. It seems he can't sew a straight seam."

There was no place in the factory for Daniel Szmolia, and the employment manager had to let him go. His place was on a farm or at other heavy laboring tasks, but in all probability he would apply at other clothing factories and work a few months at a time as he had been doing for three years. Some one had taken him into a tailor shop when he came to this country, taught him to sew on a machine, and now it was the only work that he knew.[1]

190. A young Croatian woman who came to America to join her husband wrote back telling how hard it was for her to wear a hat. Her husband said: "You may live with me for years, but I shall not go out with you unless you wear a hat."[2]

Contrast the early environment of the persons figuring in these episodes with their environment later in life. What was the bearing of the change upon their relationships with persons of other groups?

Does the community normally favor the retention of their habitual tastes, standards and modes of meeting life's vicissitudes by the foreign-born?

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[1] William M. Leiserson, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[2] William P. Shriver, Immigrant Forces. Missionary Education Movement, 1913, p. 221.

Are the southern Negroes who have come to Dayton in a position analogous to that of foreign-born immigrants? Was their coming to the city in large numbers recognized by the community as bringing a new problem in adjustments?

Why was Szmolia perplexed when he came into the office of the arbitration board? When and how did he discover that he was "no good" at his work? Why had he stayed in it for three years? How had he got into it? What agencies are there to help immigrants find suitable work? What is suitable work—that at which they can earn high wages, that in which America most needs helping hands, that in which the immigrant may most quickly become adjusted to his new environment?

And, lastly, what has the Croatian woman's hat got to do with the subject here under discussion?

Old and Young

One consideration which, on the surface, may seem somewhat outside the scope of our present inquiry but which is really central to our theme is the adjustment between the older established and the more recent groups of the same race or nationality. The quality and speed of adjustment within the group as a whole naturally has a vital bearing on its relation to the rest of the community.

191. A Hungarian student, who was working in an American factory in an unskilled manual employment, made many friends among the sturdy workingmen of his nationality. As he had a better education than most of them, he was asked after a time to take charge of a Sunday School for their children which was held in their social hall, behind a restaurant, for the express purpose of keeping the children Hungarian. He told them Hungarian fairy tales and stories from the history of their country; at Christmas time and on other holidays they had parties in which some of the grown-ups would take part.

There was a rule that all speech in this Sunday School must be in the Hungarian language. He soon observed that, try as

he would, he could not enforce it. In taking off their coats, in going out, at any time when he turned his back, the children would speak English among themselves.

In visiting the homes of some of these children he discovered a similar vain endeavor to preserve the Hungarian language. While they would speak in that language to their parents, the brothers and sisters among themselves invariably would speak in English, the language of street and school. He tried to convince the parents that their effort was useless; but they persisted in saying that the children learned English fast enough, and that there could be no harm in having them learn a second language, a language they would not be likely to acquire later in life unless it was taught in the home. So, while continuing to conduct his Sunday School in Hungarian, he no longer tried to enforce the rule that the children must also converse in that language among themselves. The punishments for doing so were quietly forgotten.

Why did the Hungarians wish to have their children instructed in the Hungarian language? Why did the attempt fail? Did the older Hungarians by their insistence show that they had no wish to become completely adjusted to American life?

192. A Russian family returned to the United States after an absence in their home country in 1898, bringing with them four children, two born in the United States and two, twins, born during the visit to Russia. These children were brought up in an American environment except for the fact that they attended the Russian Orthodox Church. They always had native American children for their best friends.

Later when the eldest daughter was sixteen years of age, she "went out" with an American man and married him a year later without her parents' consent. Her parents had known of the girl's friendship with the American but had not thought of it seriously. Owing to their objection to the marriage, the couple eloped and were married by a Protestant minister. The father, on learning of this, became enraged and would not let the daughter come to the house any more. He remained unrelenting, in spite of the entreaties of other members of the family, so long as the daughter stayed away. But one day she

came back with her husband, and after a long conversation the father agreed, "well, if you are satisfied, I guess I have to be."

Now the family is getting on together very well, and the girl is constantly in and out of her father's home. He has become reconciled not only to this marriage but has accepted the natural results of his living in an American city and the futility of efforts to hold the younger generation apart from their American environment.

What reconciled the father to the acceptance of American ideas? What does the writer mean by "the natural results of his living in an American city"? Why were the father's efforts to hold the younger generation apart from their American environment futile? Was the white community arrayed against him in this matter? Why did the daughter return to the parental home, and what is it likely that she did to re-establish the strained family ties?

193. The Juvenile Court was asked by the neighbors to investigate conditions in a Polish family, in which a six-year-old boy was said to be neglected. The investigation showed no real neglect from the point of view of the court, but a situation that needed supervision.

The mother was a widow and had, besides the six-year-old boy, two daughters aged seventeen and nineteen. Both girls were born in Austria. The father had preceded his family to the United States, and for five years the mother had worked and supported herself and the children in the old country before he was able to send for them. He seems not to have had a very good moral influence over the children, but had been dead several years. The daughters were both supporting the mother, who was doing one or two days' work a week.

The daughters turned over all their earnings to the mother, but said that she was a poor manager and never had anything to show for it. They themselves had managed to buy new furniture and clothes for themselves. They said they were ashamed to go out with their mother, who remained unprogressive, would not dress as they liked, and would not manage the home as they wished. The girls told the officer that they did not take her out with them, but gave her money to go to the "movies." Yet she would do nothing but sit at home and cry.

At one time the boy was accused of stealing coal from a neighbor. The oldest girl wanted her mother to investigate, but the mother would not go near any of her American neighbors. The daughter herself found out that the child had really taken the coal from a neighbor, and whipped him. Gradually the daughters, especially the older one, have assumed entire control of the family.

The mother can no longer discipline even the six-year-old boy. Since the daughter has undertaken to correct him, he pays no attention at all to his mother. The probation officer has tried to restore a more normal family relationship, and has tried to help the girls to understand their mother's position. She still speaks with pride of the five years in the old country when she supported them alone, and when she was really of some use to them.

The older daughter threatened for some time to leave home if her mother could not be more agreeable. When the court officer remonstrated, she said that of course she would leave her furniture, and could not be convinced that that would not entirely compensate. Later she did leave home, and took some of her furniture. The family are Catholics, but the mother no longer goes to church, and, though the girls go, the priest seems to have had no influence over them.[1]

194. Recently a social worker attended a hospital clinic with a gentle, silver-haired Russian woman. This woman's shawl which was of a fine old-world material, the like of which it would be difficult to find in America, caused a noticeable ripple of amusement among the other patients. Yet many of these had come from similar peasant communities and only a few years earlier had worn similar shawls.

Is the older generation of immigrants less desirous than the younger, and especially the children born in America, to become integrated into American life? In what does the difference in their respective viewpoints consist? Is the strain between old and young lessened when the immigrant family lives in a purely American environment? Are people of education less exposed to conflicts of this nature?

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[1] Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, New Homes for Old. Harper & Brothers, 1921, p. 183.

At what point did the mal-adjustment between old and young in each of these examples affect the relations between the respective foreign-born group and the rest of the community? What were the American interests primarily involved?

In a way this chapter, from a somewhat different angle, runs over ground already covered in the previous discussion. While all problems of relationships between different racial and national groups may be divided into problems of unadjustment and those of maladjustment, we have here concentrated our attention on relations in which friction is more clearly due to temporary conditions rather than deep-seated feelings resulting from personal experience, early impressions, and the like. Yet a clear demarcation between the two types of problems is obviously not possible since they are closely related and often occur together. Let us see whether we can summarize our impressions and findings as regards the questions considered in this chapter:

Does the immigrant necessarily have divided loyalties as between his old and his new home? Is the resulting strain upon the emotions identical with that upon persons who have changed their residence from one part of the country to another? Enumerate the differences and describe their respective pull upon the emotions. Is the strain lessened if newcomers form colonies of their own? Why do Americans abroad form colonies?

Are there any agencies in your community that try to lessen the strain? Are they equally concerned in the removal of isolation—unadjustment—as in the removal of maladjustment?

Does adjustment to American life, that is to present standards of native white American life, necessarily lead to complete assimilation? Are outwardly adjusted foreigners

more valuable to American life than those who remain attached to their distinctive customs?

What attitudes on the part of native Americans are helpful to the newcomers' progress in adjustment, what attitudes are hindering it? Does tolerance make for adjustment? Is a special knowledge of each group and its characteristics required before efforts to help in their adjustment can succeed? May such knowledge easily be obtained? How would you go about an effort to obtain it?

Have immigrants as a rule correct or erroneous impressions of American conditions? Of American ideals? Will formal "Americanization" activities be effective in adjusting the newcomer to his environment even when he does not share every privilege of American citizenship and culture? What are his reactions to such educational efforts if at the same time he finds himself discriminated against in industry or social life?

What exactly do you mean by Americanization? Is it a process of adjusting the immigrant to some permanent American culture pattern? Is there such a pattern? If so, how has it come about? How do you distinguish between American and foreign elements in the life of present-day America? What characteristics come to your mind when you speak of a typical American?[1] *What part do race, climate and topography, occupations play in the American character? Can one not born of native white American parentage, or his offspring, ever attain that character? If not, why not? If yes, in what different respects must he become adjusted to a new set of conditions?*

What does full adjustment to American culture imply?

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[1] See a charming attempt at definition under the title, What is an American, by Honoré Willsie Morrow, in The Survey for July 1, 1923.

Is a complete adjustment between all the racial and national groups that make up the American population possible without changes in the attitude of Americans toward foreign peoples in their home countries? What effect would a fuller adjustment of the different national and racial groups that make up the American people have upon American relations with other nations? Specify two or three distinct problems in American foreign relations that would be influenced by such adjustment, and how they would be influenced.

Conclusion

Once more Mrs. Garfinckle's front porch. Selma, the cook, has suddenly left to marry that long-legged clerk of Mr. Tout's. "And she never told me—but of course I found out, and I gave her my blue silk and my second-best suit-case; and I told her he could fetch the sofa and two armchairs that I have inherited from poor James—they have been gathering dust in the attic. The poor thing has almost nothing at all. By the way, you said your Minnie couldn't wear that new suit. . . ." But Mrs. Jones is pre-occupied with a problem of her own. It appears that Jeff, the colored garden helper, has been arrested for stealing a bicycle. Bail has been fixed at $100, and his mother—"you know her, that fat woman who does the washing for Mrs. Clark"—has been trying frantically to borrow that amount from Jeff's former employers. "He isn't a bad boy, Jeff; and I'm sure he is so scared he won't do anything like that again. But Miss Purdy wouldn't give a cent and the Leaches are out of town. So I gave her $30—that was all I could lay my hands on—and went over with her to Mr. Carson who lent her the rest. We can't let Jeff stay in that dreadful place. . . ."

Further up the street, Mrs. Moller tells her neighbor that she has become secretary of the Parents' Association at the high school. "You remember how scared I was on account of all the colored children. But I *had* to let George go there; what else could I have done? And now," she confesses to her neighbor, Mrs. Sullivan, "I don't mind them at all. In fact, I have gone round visiting with one of the teachers, and you wouldn't believe me, dear, if I told you what lovely homes some of these black people have down there by the yards. I

don't know how they do it, with all the dirt and smoke down there. And there's a new savings bank on the corner, too."

Chairs are rocking vigorously on banker Carson's terrace. A wire has come from the East that morning announcing the arrival of a boy, child and mother (Mary Louise) doing well. It is signed "Alf." Mr. Cosgrove, the minister, who happens to be passing, comes up to congratulate. "That will finish Alf's moral training," he says laughingly. "He always was a bit wild, but Mary had him in hand since she put up her hair, and she has made a real man of him." "By the way," asks one of the aunts, "what became of that Chinese student—you remember." "Oh, Tsang? He wrote me at Christmas that he has been appointed health officer in Tow-Ho and is going to marry a nurse at the mission hospital there, a girl who comes from his province. He wishes to be remembered to all the folks at the church; he says he never knew the meaning of Christianity until so many of you people opened your homes to him and treated him like a cousin." Evidently Mr. Cosgrove has forgotten; but the aunts haven't and blush.

Elm Avenue is lovely, this bright spring morning. The world seems bathed in peace and contentment. Two angels pass unseen, stopping here and there to listen to the neighborly gossip.

"They are learning to live together," says one. "It's a slow process, but they learn. They are not very clever; their minds are filled with so many old, fixed ideas; it is difficult for understanding to break through."

"There will always be misunderstandings and prejudices," says the other. "Human nature being what it is. . . ."

"But is not this human nature—the sharing of joys and sorrows, the regard for others' traditions and opinions, mutual aid?"

"These people trot round and round in a small circle. They may be good neighbors—at the same time they are indifferent citizens and worse cosmopolites."

"Even so—has not the Master said: Thou shalt love thy neighbor? If everyone loved those near him, could there be strife and race rivalries and wars? Would not prejudice disappear? Would not those most distant from each other in origin, looks, language, customs, habits, creed be linked by an unbroken chain of understanding and sympathy?"

"Yes, in that way, perhaps—even with human nature as it is. . . ."

"Why not—peace and goodwill in a world of neighbors?"

Well, What of It?

Every reader and every discussion group is requested to furnish to The Inquiry a report upon their study of this outline. To this end the following suggestions are given:

I. Major Findings

For those unable to make a full report, the following questions may provide a useful skeleton for setting down the more important thoughts and questions provoked by the study of this outline:

1. Has America a race problem that can be defined, analyzed, solved, or only a multitude of separate problems in the adjustment of different racial and national groups, requiring separate solutions? If the latter, what are some of these problems?

2. What are the major elements in the attitudes of the racial and national groups toward each other? Which of them are unchangeable (and why); which of them can and must be changed to bring about a more harmonious living together of these groups?

3. What influences are most likely to change attitudes that are harmful to such harmonious living together and how can they be brought into being or, if they exist, be strengthened?

   What relative importance do you ascribe to
   a. ignorance,
   b. individual and group selfishness,
   c. inadequate ideals,
   d. inadequate efforts to realize right ideals?

4. What basis of opportunity does each racial and national group in our American life require to be able to develop to the fullest extent its native abilities?
5. In which departments of life do you consider fellowship and equality, in which separation and inequality the most promising basis for bringing American culture as a whole to its highest flower?
6. What practical measures seem to you most necessary to prevent or remedy injustices in the relations between different groups?
7. What measure of contact between groups and individuals of different groups seems to you desirable to obtain a maximum of adjustment of cultural standards with a minimum of danger to the safety of the highest standards so far attained?
8. At what point or points do you see a conflict between the demands of social expediency and the teaching of Christ? In what direction would you seek a way out of such conflict?
9. On what points do you consider practicable immediate commitments on the part of Christian men and women, involving not only demands upon state or church or society at large but also upon their own personal conduct?
10. On what points do you counsel the postponement of commitments to specific policies or ways of conduct until after a more searching study of the various factors involved?
11. What particular aspects of the subject covered in this outline would you like to have more amply documented or more fully considered in the light of scientific knowledge and of religious principles?
12. In what ways do you wish to take part in such deepening and broadening of our inquiry?

II. A Full Report

It is suggested that in addition to replies to the questions asked under I, reports on the study of this outline further contain, so far as may be possible:

1. An analysis of each group of examples and a statement of the problems it contains for individual conduct and social policy, distinguishing between the problems primarily affecting
   a. the persons figuring in the different incidents or persons figuring in similar happenings and situations;
   b. the persons in authority or exercising power, such as public officials, religious and social leaders and educators, whose actions upon such happenings and in such situations have a far-reaching influence;
   c. society as a whole, or those dominant social groups that are determining the public opinion and the larger social ideals in which the solutions of specific problems in race relations find their driving force;
   d. every individual, no matter how far removed from the particular incidents under consideration, as an influence upon public affairs and a possible promoter, by the example of his own conduct, of helpful attitudes and activities.
2. Suggestions (partly through the communication of additional episodes) of ways in which the material presented for study may be made more adequate; and suggestions for improvements in the arrangement and presentation of the material.

Please reply to
THE INQUIRY
129 East 52nd Street
New York

APPENDIX I

Definitions

In this study we are not using the term "race" in any scientific meaning, chiefly because in reality virtually all the so-called races represented in our American population are mixed ethnic groups, and no test has yet been invented by which the racial composition of any given group may definitely be ascertained.

A race is a subdivision of a species and corresponds to a breed in domestic animals. Popularly, the word is used in a different sense, namely that of a population having any traits in common, be they hereditary or non-hereditary, biological or social. It is customary, but scientifically inaccurate, to speak of the French race, the Anglo-Saxon race, the Gypsy race, the Jewish race. The French are a nation and a nationality, with a substantially common speech; biologically they are three races considerably mixed, but still imperfectly blended. Anglo-Saxon refers primarily to speech, incidentally to a set of customs, traditions, and points of view that are more or less associated with the language. The Gypsies are a self-constituted caste, with folkways, occupations and a speech of their own. The Jews, who were once a nationality, at present, of course, form a religious body, which somewhat variably, in part from inner cohesion and in part from outer pressure, tends also to constitute a caste. They evince little hereditary racial type, measurements indicating that in each country they approximate the physical type of the gentile population.[1]

In spite of the looseness of speech which leads to unfortunate misunderstandings and errors, the term "race" cannot

[1] A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology. Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1923, pp. 56-57. This work, especially Chapters III and IV, is recommended as a reliable guide to the distinction between the biological and social factors inherent in what we usually speak of as "race problems."

be avoided in this discussion, because it is the term universally associated with the distinctive traits—whether they be inherited by birth or acquired by upbringing and experience—which characterize different groups in the common national and international life. In discussing American race problems we are, therefore, not only discussing biological or eugenic problems involved in the composition of the American population, but also problems arising from the contacts of individuals and groups considered, and considering themselves, distinct as regards "racial" origin.

Several other terms of a general nature occur in this study which are likely to play a prominent part in the discussion and should, therefore, be fully understood; Mr. Wissler has recently given a clear definition of "culture" which is widely accepted:

One of the first difficulties in the way of comprehending the significance of the term culture, lies in the custom of using it in a sense of evaluation, as when we refer to a man of culture. Thus, by a person of culture we sometimes understand one who is educated and polished in manners, or perhaps highly skilled in art or music. As thus applied, the term means superiority; but this use has little in common with its meaning when applied to a people as a whole, for in history and social science we speak of the mode of life of this or that people as their culture. Thus the Eskimo and Hottentot have no less each a culture of their own, than the French or the English. In fact, in contrast one to the other, the Eskimo and Hottentot have far greater claims to originality in culture than have the English when pitted against the French. This is because the whole round of life in England is not very different from that to be observed in France, whereas the life cycle of an Eskimo has very little in common with that of a Hottentot. This round of life in its entire sweep of individual activities is the basic phenomenon to which the historian, the sociologist, and the anthropologist give the name, culture.[1]

[1] Clark Wissler, Man and Culture. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1923, p. 1.

Psychologists are still at odds as to the precise nature of "instinct"; but they are more or less at one in declaring it as "unscientific to try to restrict original activities to a definite number of sharply demarcated classes of instinct."[1] To understand the nature of instinct and the part it plays in behavior—the sum total of bodily reactions—we must distinguish it from other forms of behavior. They may be classified as follows:

1. Purely physiological reactions;
2. Uncoordinated random reactions;
3. Native reflexes;
4. Instincts;
5. Acquired reflexes;
6. Habits;
7. Ideo-motor reactions;
8. Volitional reactions.[2]

The instincts are complex native reactions composed of a number of native reflexes—the simplest and most direct coordinated movements, made in response to sensory stimuli—chained together in such a way that they lead to an adjustment of the organism as a whole to some outer situation. . . . Instincts are inherited forms of reaction and are, therefore, the result of the transmission from parent to offspring of preformed neural pathways.

While instinct is not consciously controlled by the individual, it is nevertheless attended by an impelling consciousness, craving or appetent in quality. Illustrations of instincts are found in the reactions of fear, anger, jealousy, rivalry, acquisitiveness, parental love, play, and imitation. In man instincts are rarely pure, for they are modified by experience and supplemented by volitional and acquired activities.[3]

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[1] John Dewey, Human Nature and Conduct. Henry Holt & Co., 1922, p. 131.

[2] Burtis B. Breese, Psychology. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917, p. 398.

[3] Breese, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

"Prejudice," as used in this study and commonly understood, carries with its precise meaning of prejudgment—a making up of the mind without or prior to examination of evidence—the connotation of an unfavorable reaction which may be the resultant of any combination of the eight categories of bodily reaction named above, or a combination of any of them with the memory of intellectual experience.

An "attitude" is the type of sentiment which the individual manifests upon the recurrence of a given situation. It is a behavior-pattern, with reference especially to the "feeling" side of response. It is, in Warren's definition, "a permanent set of our mental and nervous system which modifies the effect of stimuli and determines how we respond."[1] Instead of saying, however, that the attitude "determines" how we respond it would be more accurate to say it is how we respond.

Since the valuation element is so strong in a sentiment, an attitude may be regarded also as a type of valuation-response. Knowing an individual's sentimental valuations in a sufficiently large number and variety of specific situations, we can predict the type of his valuations—his attitudes—in a new situation. Attitudes are thus sentiment-patterns.[2]

A precise use of words will save misunderstandings and time. For instance, we have become so affected by recent propaganda that when some one mentions "native Americans" many of us involuntarily think of Americans of British or at any rate of Germanic or Nordic descent. Immigrants, in speaking of "Americans," on the other hand, usually mean those residents who have lived in the country long enough to have a full command of its language and have made its customs their own. Similarly, in speaking of "old residents and new" we are apt to picture the old residents as descend-

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[1] H. C. Warren, Elements of Human Psychology, 1922, p. 219.

[2] A. B. Wolfe, Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method. Macmillan Co., 1923, p. 9. This book contains the most thorough analysis and explanation of social attitudes.

ants of colonial stock; but often the contrast is intended to be between new immigrants and old. A confusion of such terms as these often creates the erroneous impression of a nation-wide division between two groups, one in possession of the country and jealous of its traditions, the other trying to get in and change them.

Clear distinctions between certain related terms and the different meanings of certain words should also be kept in mind; as for example the difference between community and neighborhood; Negro in its biological sense and the current meaning as including all persons with even the smallest amount of Negro blood; Mexican as immigrant from Mexico and Latin natives of south-western states; Hindus as members of a religious body and natives of India;[1] discrimination as synonymous with discernment and as implying reproach for unjust differences in treatment.

[1] Both the terms Hindus and Hindustanis are inaccurate as descriptive of a race, but occasionally occur in the quoted material to describe people from India as distinct from American Indians.

APPENDIX II

To Every Reader

The purpose of this study outline is to promote a serious, open-minded inquiry into the relations between the different racial and national groups in America. Two ends have been in view: (1) the discovery of those aspects in which these relations have fallen away from the highest standards of individual and social conduct; (2) the discovery of such specific measures as may be needed to conserve good-will, remove misunderstandings, make for better adjustment, avert clashes and in other ways to bring race relations into harmony with those standards.

This purpose calls for three processes:

First, the collection by persons in all walks of life of incidents which to them seem to contain problems in race relations. This was commenced in the winter of 1923-1924 and will be continued in order to improve the material for future editions of the present outline and to provide for further special studies of selected aspects of the subject.[1]

Second, the study and discussion of these incidents with the aim of arriving at a correct formulation of the problems they contain. To this end three types of question will have to be asked, as a rule in the following sequence:

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[1] All readers are invited to contribute such incidents, whether long or short, whether paralleling stories already told in these pages or illustrating topics not yet represented. [The names of persons and places will not be published, and the circumstances may be otherwise disguised to prevent identification where this is desired.]

1. *Questions of What*

What exactly happened (or is likely to have happened)? Who are the people figuring in the story? What are their backgrounds?

2. *Questions of Why*

Why did it happen? What is the general ethnic, social, psychological setting of the happening? What factors, not part of the story, help to explain it? What is the background of wider social interests, sentiments, prejudices involved?

3. *Questions of Ought*

What ought the persons figuring in the incident to have done? What is the responsibility of those only indirectly concerned, more particularly those whose influence or authority has helped to determine the actions of the individuals figuring in the happening? Where lies the general social responsibility? What should we as individuals have done or now do about it?

It is to the questions of "what" and "why" that the present study outline is more especially devoted. Too often questions of "ought" are debated before there is agreement as to the facts of the case or before the specific case is seen in its relation to other significant facts in our social life. It will probably be found that a wider range of fact and a deeper probing into the consistency of our moral philosophy is needed before these questions of responsibility or moral conduct can be answered with certainty, before rules of conduct and social policies can be formulated to which earnest students of the problems of race relations can safely commit themselves. For this reason, the present Part I of the study only leads up to but does not enter the

Third process, the study and discussion of the larger problems, with a view to solutions which commend themselves as both practicable and in keeping with the religious convictions of the whole body of inquirers. In line with our democratic procedure, Part II of the study outline, designed to aid in this last process, will be edited on the basis of the reports

received from individuals and discussion groups on the results of their studies of Part I. It will present the consensus (or the variety of views, as may be the case) of the participants in different parts of the country as to the nature of the essential problems involved and will endeavor to aid students in finding solutions for these by a logical process of inquiry and discussion. In furtherance of that aim, the second part of the study course will contain additional tools in the form of (1) quotations from the scientific literature in the different fields of knowledge concerned which may provide a more adequate background for reasoned judgments, and (2) questions leading to a more searching analysis of the way of life to which our religious faith commits us.

Range of Subject Matter

It is inevitable in a text prepared for use in all parts of the country that conditions are described and problems raised which apply only in some sections and not in others. For instance, where the members of certain races are not admitted to important educational institutions, questions of social contacts between fellow students do not arise; but where they are admitted such questions do arise, sometimes in an acute form, and are of direct, personal concern to many. There may be irritation over the fact that in this book questions are raised which, to the mind of the reader, have "long been settled." That incidents raising such questions have been contributed indicates, however, that these assumedly "dead issues" may be very live ones in another part of the country. It does not follow, of course, that these topics need be taken up where they would be of merely academic concern. The interests of the group must determine the choice of the material for discussion.

Two criticisms may be made of the limitation of the subject matter of this study as indicated by the table of contents:

It may be said that the tragedy of American race conflicts, the acute hostility between different groups that vents itself every now and then in bloody riots and lynchings, has been overshadowed by too minute a consideration of minor misunderstandings, of habitual attitudes and discriminations that may be regrettable but do not seriously infringe upon law and order. On the other hand, it may be said that our inquiry is dwelling too much upon harrowing antagonisms, minimizes the existing harmony between different racial groups and does less than justice to the great moral forces already mobilized and active in preserving these good relationships and in creating an even greater community of purpose.

These omissions are acknowledged. It seemed best in the present preliminary study to concentrate upon those issues which constitute the genesis of more serious friction when it appears above the surface of seemingly peaceful race-relationships. Some material has been accumulated for an analysis of those graver and more dramatic calamities which too often are the only reminders to thoughtless Americans of their unsolved race problems. Too often lynchings and other forms of race war are discussed as though they were isolated phenomena, and the only remedies considered for them are spasmodic applications of coercive interferences. But as in the study of war between nations the emphasis has shifted from a consideration of competing armaments to that of conflicting interests in times of peace, so in the study of race war, it is particularly important at the present time to create a better understanding and mastery of underlying causes. At the same time, it is highly desirable that the study of seemingly trivial incidents should bring out their relation to those occasional climactic incidents in which attitudes normally accepted without thought of their consequences have provided the fuel of impassioned feuds.

As regards the possible charge that American race relations are in these pages pictured in too dark a hue, we are well aware that they tell only part of the story—that part which in larger historical perspective may, perhaps, be less significant than the great object lesson which America offers, in the main, of more than a hundred million people of different antecedents who have learned to live together in peace rarely disturbed and in a multitude of inter-racially cooperative activities. Yet it is in those aspects of our common life in which we have not as yet realized the implications of Christian teaching, and they are many and serious, that we find the largest area of controversy. And not only this, but the appearances of social harmony are often deceptive. One purpose of the present inquiry is to dig below that surface and disclose the possible sources of future friction.

At the same time, the commission has collected, and is collecting, much more material illustrative both of the absence of friction in inter-racial life and activities, and of present approaches towards the conservation and creation of race harmony. Some of this will be available in the second part of the present study outline for the separate study of the specific problems disclosed in the first part. Where a group or individual reader is especially interested in a particular type of problem and desires further information regarding attempted solutions without having to wait for the publication of Part II, selected material or references to sources will be sent in response to inquiries—of course, without implied approval of the particular measures described.

Part of a Larger Inquiry

In other words, although intended as a contribution to a joint quest for a Christian way of life in our complex racial situations, the present part of this study concerns itself more with an understanding of what the problems of American race relations are than the immediate finding of Christian solutions.

The purpose of the method adopted is to demonstrate the necessity for careful inquiry into the nature of social problems before any solution in line with abstract principles is attempted.

However, patience will have its reward. The second part of this study outline, to be issued in 1925, based on the reports of the individuals and discussion groups who take part in the study of the present outline, will present a more coherent statement of the major problems, as brought out by them, with aids to their further study and with the aim of arriving at a discovery of solutions.

The whole of the inquiry, moreover, is preliminary to a national conference in which, it is hoped, agreements will be reached in the light of these studies on Christian policies and modes of conduct. Hence, the reporting of findings—the formulation of the major problems discovered in the study of the present outline, of preliminary answers to them and of experiments in their solution—forms an integral part of the procedure.

In short, this pamphlet is more than an outline for study; it is an invitation to take part in a pioneer enterprise—a way of tackling our difficulties in race relations, re-enforcing the scientific teaching of experts and the moral teaching of the churches with a search for solutions in which each student will take his part.

APPENDIX III

To Leaders of Discussion Groups

There are several ways in which the material here presented may be used in the conduct of group discussions.

First, where a group is studying a textbook on race relations, such as Speer's Of One Blood, Haynes' The Trend of the Races or the discussion course for college students, Racial Relations and the Christian Ideal, it may be used to provide concrete illustrations for the general questions discussed and help to emphasize the translation of attitudes of general tolerance and good-will into direct commitments for the every-day conduct of the members of the group.[1]

Second, where because of the nature of the community or the composition of the group some specific concern in race relations prevails over others, this may be made the starting point of the discussion, and the text be used to lead over from a consideration of the problems most in the minds of the group to that of related problems. Often it may be well to start

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[1] A study outline and readings on the progress of the Negro, by T. J. Woofter, Jr., is to be published early in 1925 by Ginn & Co., under the title, The Basis of Racial Adjustment.

A study outline based on J. H. Oldham's Christianity and the Race Problem has been published by the British Christian Student Movement (32, Russell Square, London, W.C.) under the title, The Problem of Race [price one shilling].

A textbook on Race Prejudice by Erle Fiske Young is to be published shortly by the Chicago University Press.

For more advanced study of race conflict: Races, Nations and Classes, by Herbert Adolphus Miller; J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia [price probably $2.00].

with the discussion of a problem of special concern to the group and, after a preliminary analysis, lay it aside to come back to it after a series of excursions—with the aid of the present outline—into the psychological, social, economic or other problems which enter into the main situation. It is particularly desirable wherever possible to substitute for the given material illustrative cases from the personal experience of members of the group itself, because often this will make available more intimate information on questions of fact, and the interest will be more direct.[1] Personal experience must also be drawn upon to fill in the details of pictures that are little more than sketched in many of the given examples. Often the imaginative introduction of *probable* motives, causes or consequences from a general knowledge of similar persons and situations to those discussed will be more instructive than a search for additional factual details.[2]

Third, the course may be followed more or less as it stands, with such changes in sequence as may be indicated by the interest displayed in the discussions. One possible way which it is *not* advised to take is to pick out of the material examples dealing with the relations between specific racial groups or with specific geographical areas. This does not afford comparison of similar incidents dealing with different races and different parts of the country, an important help in arriving at a recognition of the nature of the problems.

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[1] It is requested to report as many as possible of these additional incidents so that future editions of this outline may be made more complete.

[2] Because the psychological element is so important in this field, it is recommended that the reading of books of factual information be supplemented by that of biography and fiction based on observation.

Method of Discussion

The purpose of the Inquiry is to promote cooperative thinking on the basis of contributions from the thought and experience of each participant. In so far as their diverse convictions are based on diverse interests in the matter under discussion, it is important that those interests be clearly stated and apprehended. The object of participation in this cooperative inquiry is not to convert others to an existing viewpoint but rather to find explanations for diverging viewpoints in differences of experience and of interest and, having thus clarified the issues and the attitudes toward the subject in hand, to proceed to a calm *analysis* of the specific, concrete situation or occurrence as a *preliminary to judging* the motives displayed by the persons figuring in it and laying bare the problems for conduct involved.

For an example of such treatment of a controversial question in race relations, the reader is referred to the report of a discussion of the so-called "Jewish question" at Harvard, pp. 22 *et seq.* of the pamphlet, A Cooperative Technique for Conflict, published by The Inquiry, price 20 cents. This pamphlet, Harrison S. Elliott's The Why and How of Group Discussion, [published by the Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City, price 25 cents], and the Forum Bulletin, Series I, 1923, of the Religious Work Department of the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., [347 Madison Avenue, New York City] are recommended to group leaders for further hints on the conduct of discussions in a Christian spirit.

It is suggested that, where possible, representatives of racial groups be invited to take part in the discussion of happenings in which it is of value to know the special interests or viewpoints of such groups.

In a few places in this outline the suggestion has been made that a member of the group be charged with the preparation of a short report on data which will be helpful in the discussion of a particular problem or set of problems—such, for instance, as the actual volume and character of the northern migration of Negroes or the present status of Negro, Oriental and American Indian in regard to the franchise. This method may also usefully be followed in places where it has not been especially indicated. In the case of an important local problem concerning which the available data are insufficient, a more serious survey by members of the group between discussion sessions may be desirable. This means that the group leader should, if possible, be a little ahead of the group in his reading so that such assignments can be made in time for the discussion of the particular subject.

A further aid would be to have handy some of the books of reference most frequently quoted in these pages for a quick ascertainment of disputed facts, or to have present at the meetings persons of expert knowledge of the matters likely to come up.[1] For instance, when the subject of educational discriminations is up for discussion, it would be useful to have present

[1] Where a larger library is not available, the following six books are recommended as a nucleus for suitable reference material.

Robert E. Speer, of One Blood. Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1924. Cloth, $.75; paper, $.50.

Racial Relations and the Christian Ideal. A Discussion Course for College Students. Student Volunteer Movement, 1923. $.25.

J. H. Oldham, Christianity and the Race Problem. George H. Doran Co., 1924, $2.25.

W. D. Weatherford, The Negro from Africa to America. George H. Doran Co., 1924, $5.00.

George E. Haynes, The Trend of the Races. Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1922. Cloth $.75; paper $.50.

Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted. Harper & Brothers, 1921, $2.50.

These books contain further reading lists.

some one who knows the facts concerning the school system of the community and of the state.

Absolute frankness, with avoidance of unnecessarily provoking language, should mark the discussions. Long speeches should be discouraged, but every effort be made to elicit the thought of all participants. It is more worth while to reach the undercurrents of controversy and bring to light real differences than to cover so much ground at each meeting of the group. At the same time, the leader should use his discretion in seeing to it that too much time is not lost in unnecessary detail or in duplication of arguments already heard. The greatest time-saver will be an endeavor to secure precise statements of facts, views and questions, so that differences may not result from mutual misunderstandings.[1]

A brief tabulation on the blackboard of attitudes, backgrounds and interests displayed in a given incident, and of the questions drawn out of it for discussion, will also help to eliminate waste of time on matters that are beside the point or unessential. For instance, while it is very desirable to have contributions of an experience by a member of the group bearing on the problem under discussion—let us say, a case of race discrimination in the civil service when that subject is reached—other stories brought up merely because they also happened to persons of the same race are not pertinent. Unless the group is so rich in experiences as to require no other material for discussion than that of which its members have personal knowledge, it may be well at the beginning of each session to single out one incident for thorough consideration, using the others only to illustrate similarities and dissimilarities in occurrences of that type. A few incidents have been told at some length [notably examples No. 58, 70, 154 and 174] to

[1] See Appendix I.

illustrate the way in which a seemingly simple episode may be developed in all its aspects and motivations to gain a thorough understanding.

As has been pointed out, the selection of stories has not been guided by an intention to make them as a whole present a true picture of present conditions in America but rather to point to certain problems and evils. For this reason, to avoid a depressing cumulative effect of their recital, it is desirable throughout to contrast these incidents with others, from the experience of the group, which illustrate the, perhaps, more normal *absence* of such problems and evils.

On the other hand, the material of this outline is so arranged as to enable the discussion leader to point out the cumulative nature of the process of "disharmonization" which leads to the more dramatic episodes involving antagonisms in an acute form.

A Few Essentials

Since, as has been explained, the present study outline is but part of an inquiry which is "to be continued in our next," the process of analysis of typical experiences should not be left off arbitrarily with a discussion of the last example in the last chapter. At least one further session should be given over to a summarization of the conclusions arrived at, both as regards specific aspects of the subject and the subject as a whole.

The commission has tried not to prejudge its case by a selection of study material in accordance with a preconceived plan, but its illustrations, for the most part, present problems in race relations as its large number of contributors perceive them. (See p. viii.) In the same way, only sample questions have been appended to the examples; and these may not in all cases be the questions that seem of greatest importance to those who discuss these incidents and others of their own

choosing. The concluding session or sessions of this part of the inquiry, therefore, should be devoted to a further definition of those questions and problems which have arisen most prominently from the discussions themselves.

To four matters which already have been briefly indicated, special attention should be directed:

First, the cumulative nature of the process of "disharmonization." Seemingly trivial occurrences often reflect underlying prejudices or false assumptions which at any moment may break out into much more serious open clashes.

In formulating questions for further inquiry it should be remembered that misconceptions, false attitudes and minor discriminations in their totality make up a condition of maladjustment and, uncorrected, may lead to cataclysmic ruptures.

Second, the fact that in their totality the episodes discussed represent an abnormal condition, as evidenced by the fact that they can be told at all as happenings. If in the course of discussion incidents are brought up which illustrate a smooth adjustment of different racial and national groups, giving no room for those evils or problems which are the particular topic of the day, these should not be ruled out but be considered as negative evidence—a study of which, in the second part of the inquiry, may lead to a knowledge of the conditions that make for harmonious relationships. Particular attention, however, should be given to a thorough analysis of such cases to determine whether the harmony which they illustrate is real or only apparent.

Third, only incidentally have examples been given of present efforts to conserve or create harmony between racial groups in a community by lessons in tolerance, the correction of misunderstandings, the making of contacts, the assimilation of cultural standards the removal of handicaps, the promotion

of cooperative activities, and the like. More of such evidence, in accordance with our scheme of inquiry, will be presented with the second part of this study. Yet, the part played by such harmonizing agencies, even in episodes with an unfortunate outcome, should be noted for future appraisal. Indeed, some of the most important questions to be formulated for further illustration and discussion should be questions as to the part played by different civic, social, educational and religious influences in the change of public opinion on race relations and the bringing about of improvements in race contacts. Reference to actual experiments under way, notably those in which members of the discussion group themselves may have part, should be noted with a view to the collection of further information on the efficacy of different types of conduct and action.

The commission requests that all such detailed information, including references to sources, be made part of the report on this part of the inquiry.

Finally, care should be taken that through emphasis on ethical influences and social organization sight be not lost of some of the other influences which, unaided by them, may fundamentally affect conditions and tendencies—for instance, such underlying economic factors as the natural wealth of this continent which permeates all aspects of American life, or our country's political, social and religious traditions which render the relations between different groups in America historically different from those that may be observed in other countries. While the present study is limited to conditions in the United States, comparison of the effects produced upon them by these larger influences with those produced by different natural features and historical developments upon race relations in other countries will later be the subject of further inquiry.

In brief, it will appear from what has been said, that the arrangement of this study course is tentative and preliminary to the editing of an outline for study and discussion which, while making use of the material here presented, will embody the results of practical experience in the conduct of discussions. Group leaders are cordially invited, therefore, to report not only on the findings of their groups but also on their views as regards the best ways in which to attack this difficult subject.

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